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THE

CHRONICLES OF A TRAVELLER:

OR,

A HISTORY OF THE

AFGHAN WARS WITH PERSIA,

IN THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST CENTURY,

FROM THEIR COMMENCEMENT TO THE ACCESSION OF SULTAN ASHRUF.

BEING A TRANSLATION OF THE "TAREEKH-I-SEEAH," FROM THE LATIN OF

J. C. CLODIUS,

PROF. ARAB. AT LEIPZIG.

ASTOR LIBRARY
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BY

GEORGE NEWNHAM MITFORD, ESQ.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE AFGHAN USURPATION, TILL ITS OVERTHROW BY TAHMASP KOOLLY KHAN.

LONDON:
JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.
1840.

TO

THOMAS NEWNHAM, ESQ.

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED,

AS A SMALL TOKEN OF ESTEEM,

BY

BY HIS AFFECTIONATE RELATIVE,

THE TRANSLATOR.

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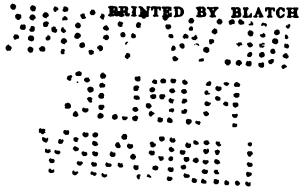

PREFACE.

In presenting this work to the Public, the Translator found himself compelled, in some measure, to make several remarks on the subject of this volume, and the authors who have treated upon it; these he has collected in an introductory disquisition. They may, perhaps, afford some information to new students in Oriental History: to those who are more deeply read, the volume itself, should the original not have come under their observation, will place some very important events in a different light to that in which they may have been accustomed to regard them from accounts given us by some English and French Historians. Should his researches throw any light upon their previous opinions, he will feel himself amply repaid for all his inquiries. He has not merely referred to printed volumes, but sought information from persons who appeared qualified to judge. As Krusinski's accounts, through the colouring and romantic imagination of his French commentator, have been brought into some discredit, a defence of the Jesuit's

statements, as corrected by the Turks, has been imperatively called for; otherwise the annexed introduction might have been superfluous. The notes which have been inserted, both at the foot of the page, and in the Appendix *(A)*, will place the various accounts in juxta-position: it must remain, therefore, to the more experienced Orientalist, after weighing the reasons adduced, to decide which bear the greatest internal mark of authenticity. The critic, who would look into this translation to comment on its style of composition, will find, I am aware, many inaccuracies; but those who have experienced the difficulty of producing a literal translation from the authors in pure Latinity, will easily conceive the labor required in a re-translation, from a version, which, under the circumstances Clodius's work was written, abounds in defective and obscure expressions. Relying on the sincere motive which actuated him, the Translator commits his maiden volume upon the stream of Literature. No thirst after fame has prompted his labors, but an anxiety to elucidate the historical information possessed by his countrymen. This, he hopes, will plead in favour of the undertaking, which he now submits to a generous public.

INTRODUCTION.

In contemplating the duties of a citizen of a great and enlightened nation, considerable importance may be attached to a diligent and even inquisitive search into the annals of his native land, and of those regions which have submitted to the triumphant arms of his gallant countrymen. The student should not shrink from the labor, if, during his researches, an opportunity should occur by which he might be enabled to throw light upon the habits and characters of the nations, among whom his country is accomplishing great achievements in politics and warfare. Nor should he decline the task of illustrating—even in the subordinate character of a translator—the course, the scenery, and other essentials, calculated to facilitate the means already existing in this North-Western corner of the civilized world, of meditating on the probable results of brilliant operations, in countries afar off, and hitherto but obscurely known. If, indeed,

his forerunners in this path have left behind them works, which will last through many an age, as memorials of their industry and perseverance, and which for beauty of style, and intrinsic worth, can rarely, if ever be surpassed; and if the translator of the work, now offered to the public in an English dress, dare not entertain a thought of rivalling the merits of many of those who have introduced foreign authors to the knowledge of our fellow citizens; some merit, it is hoped, will nevertheless be allowed to the task of searching for and examining records, rendered almost unknown by the veil of antiquity, by the distant places of their publication, or by the community at large not being sufficiently acquainted with the language in which they were originally written. To the two latter of these classes, belong the Chronicles before us. The translator has spared no pains to render this work of Asiatic history acceptable to his reader, at a time when the deep vallies and almost inaccessible mountains of Afghanistan, and their rugged passes, have rung with the peals of Britain's artillery, and with the cheers of the onward moving columns of her intrepid sons, and their fellow-warriors raised in her own Indian provinces; when Ghiznee, hitherto esteemed one of the most impregnable fortresses of Asia, and the city whence Mahmood the Great marched, about the beginning of the eleventh century, to the conquest of India, and those regions whose subjugation Russia is now attempting, has been carried by the skill and bravery of an English army;

when Candahar, the nurse of the wild and hardy tribes, who, as related in the following pages, overthrew one of the most powerful monarchies of the east, that in its renovated state has become inimical to our interests, has been constrained to submit to its exiled sovereign, Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, the protected ally of England.

A copy of the Turkish original, printed at Constantinople, in 1729, soon after the establishment in that capital of an official press, during the reign of Ahmed III., whilst the power of Turkey was at its zenith, is to be found in the British Museum;* and probably in a few other libraries, possessed by rich and influential collectors of rare books. But the name is not to be found in the catalogues of other public libraries of the first distinction. As it is understood that on an influential officer, attached to the British Embassy at Constantinople, endeavouring to purchase an entire collection of the works printed at the Sultan's press, no copy of this book was obtained; it may be inferred that it is very rare, even at the place of its publication. The materials used in its compilation were undoubtedly furnished by the memoirs of the Polish Jesuit, Judas Krusinski, who resided about thirty years in Persia, as a missionary; and these Turkish Chronicles of a Traveller, were printed by command of the Grand Vizier, Ibraham Padshah, in

* Under this head of Krusinski, being the only work bearing his name in the collection, excepting Clodius's Latin Version; but mention is made, we now find, in Dorn's annotations on the Afghan History of a work of Krusinski, under the signature of Prodomus.

fulfilment of the will of his sovereign, to assist in the dissemination of knowledge. Some particulars of the life of Krusinski may therefore be not unacceptable in this place; and since the French, who first put Krusinski's memoirs into the form in which they have hitherto been generally brought to the notice of Europe, ascribe to the Polish author himself the first translation into the Turkish tongue—a circumstance of which notice will be hereafter taken,—we may be permitted to insert the particulars from the account given of him in the "Biographie Universelle," printed at Paris, in 1811.*

"Judas Thadeus Krusinski was born at Brzese, in Cujavia, about the year 1677; and was brought up from a youth to serve in the missions in Persia, where he resided at Isfahan. By his profound knowledge of the oriental languages, he won the esteem of his superiors; and in 1720 was appointed Procurator-general to the Persian Missions, and secretary and interpreter to the Bishop of Isfahan. He witnessed the revolution which led to the overthrow of the Sufvee dynasty, and the conquest of Persia by the Afghans. He left Persia in 1725, and drew out a very circumstantial narrative, the truth and exactness

* His name is not to be found in the Encyclopædia Britannica, Rees, Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary, or other comprehensive works of this sort in English: this shows how little he is known; and it is also remarkable that his own alleged works are not mentioned in Reuss's Repertorium, which was published at Leipzig about 1810, or in Brunet's Manuel des Libraires.

of which were such as to obtain great reputation for it. It is the work whence all the accounts published in the different languages of Europe, on the subject, have their origin. It is particularly remarkable that the Latin original was not printed and published until a long time after several translations had been made. Father Du Cerceau, a Jesuit, published at the Hague, in 1725, a sort of version in French, by using the manuscript correspondence of the Polish priest. Krusinski, in passing through Constantinople, on his return from Persia, made a Turkish translation for Ibrahim Padshah, the Vizier of Ahmed III. ; and it was printed at the newly established press at Constantinople, in 1729, under the title of Tareekh-i-Seeah; and two years afterwards re-translated into Latin by John Christian Clodius, the Arabic Professor at the University of Leipzig, and printed at that place in 1731."

The account contains several other particulars of this learned man, who ended his days at Kaminiek, in his native country, Poland, in 1754, at the age of seventy-seven. But it will suffice to notice, that the original memoirs are stated to have been printed in a small quarto volume at Lemburg, in 1734, and to be an extremely rare book. It contains in addition an account of the embassy of Dourry Effendi, from Ahmed III. to Shah Hoossein in 1720. This Lemburg, at which Krusinski published it, seems to be the Lemburg, sometimes called Llow, in Galicia, containing one of the two principal Universities of Poland.

The additional work appears also to have been written in Latin, and translated by M. De Fiennes at Constantinople, and printed at Paris as lately as 1810; and Krusinski himself is represented to have added to his memoirs a dissertation, bearing the title "De Legationibus Polono-persicis." The modern rarity of Krusinski's own works is a point confirmed by those distinguished characters, who in England are deservedly esteemed the classical historians of Persia and Afghanistan,—Sir John Malcolm, and the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone.

It may nevertheless be demanded why, when a translation of the work of Krusinski, or rather Du Cerceau, is in the hand of the English public—having been published in 1728—another version is brought forward; particularly as Hanway, the greatest British historian of Persia up to the day of Sir John Malcolm, has so copiously introduced Krusinski's memoirs into his history, as nearly to give a copy of the version whence he obtained his information, though corrected in several places, by the knowledge this diligent promoter of science himself collected during his short stay in Persia. That the history of this renowned English traveller, who entered Persia in 1743, and dedicated his first volume to the Russia Company, in January 1753, was greatly compiled from these memoirs, is acknowledged in a note in part vii, chapter 3. He does not state, however, whether he took his account from the Lemburg edition—from the Turkish, esteemed in the "Biographie Universelle" as Kru-

sinski's own—or from Du Cerceau's translation, or rather compilation. He merely states in that one note that at this time, (whilst the crowds were deserting Isfahan during the famine, and when the Afghans were massacring all who fell into their hands,) Father Krusinski, the author of the memoirs from whence part of this history was originally compiled, obtained leave to remove to Julfa. A large portion of the more detailed part of his history, which is the one relating to the invasion of the Afghans, was indubitably grounded on some one of the different versions of Krusinski that had appeared.

Yet, if Hanway quoted from the Turkish writing, a very remarkable difference is observable in the account given of the Prince of Georgia, who was the Persian viceroy in Candahar in 1709. For, according to Hanway, "Gurghin Khan" was assassinated at a country-house belonging to "Mir Vais," near Candahar, in a tent where he had partaken of a sumptuous repast; whereas the Turkish account states, the Prince of Georgia fell into an ambush, into which he had been led in an expedition he had been tempted by Meer Veis to undertake against the Bulochees, with whom the Afghan was in communication; and that the Georgians were so cut up, that none of them survived to carry the news back to Candahar. Du Cerceau also differs; for he states, that "Myrr Weis" found means to assassinate the Governor, while the people put the whole of the Georgian troops to the sword. A variety of conflicting accounts appear to

have been circulated of this important point of Afghan history; for Salmon's Geography, professing to give an exact narrative of events till the time it was published, 1736, describes Meer Veis, after his restitution to favour, and return from Isfahan, to have approached Candahar with a large suite, and the Governor to have come out to a complimentary meeting with him, when Meer Veis intercepted his return to the city, and got possession of the place. But this insurrection of Meer Veis is treated very briefly by Du Cerceau; while Hanway traces it to a demand made by the Governor on the Chief, whom with little final success he had sent to Isfahan as a dangerous subject; viz., that he, Meer Veis, should deliver up to him a daughter who was famed for her beauty; and Clairac—whom Hanway, and Sir John Malcolm in his History of Persia, follow—adds, on some other means of information, interest to the tale, by describing the Afghan to have been obliged to dissemble, and that two months before he invited the Khan to the fatal banquet, he got a handsome girl belonging to his household to personate his daughter.

In another place, too, the variance is almost more remarkable than in the former instance; Hanway and Clairac, (of whom more hereafter), state that Khoosrow Khan advanced into Candahar with 30,000 *Persians*, and 1,200 *Georgians;* and that when he marched upon the pass of Zebil, "Mir Vais" abandoned that post, and retired to the river Belese, where he disputed the passage, though ineffectually; and that

Khoosrow immediately besieged Candahar, which he might have taken had he not insisted on an unconditional surrender. Whilst these negotiations were pending, "Mir Vais," *who still kept the field*, being reinforced by the Bulochees and Tirins, * laid waste the country; and Khoosrow, unable to provide for the small force he still kept together—the rest having deserted, from discouragement at their repulse in the daily-renewed attacks—broke up the siege; and being pursued, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, at the head of the few remaining Georgians, and fell gloriously. The discrepancies will be readily observed by referring to page 55 of the present volume.

The able author of the "Account of the Kingdom of Caubul," who quotes Krusinski, in the words of Du Cerceau's compilation, when treating on the state of slavery in Afghanistan, in book 2nd, chap. viii., on the manners and characters of the Afghans, remarks, in a subsequent note to a part of chap. v, book 3., "that the easy faith of the good Jesuit, and the lively imagination of his French editor, have produced an historical romance, which, though not destitute of information, requires as much knowledge to distinguish between the truth and the falsehood, as would have sufficed for the production of a correct history." From such a defect, it is to be hoped the history now translated has been cleared by the labours of the ingenious and learned Effendi, who undertook to remove the errors which had got into the work, and

* A tribe of the Cligis, or Khilgees.

by inquiry from natives brought captive from the countries about which the chronicles treat, to ascertain the absolute facts. In respect to imagination, it will, perhaps, suffice to compare its simple relation respecting the conspiracy of Meer Veis, with the anecdote just cited from Hanway and Sir John Malcolm, to justify the plea of Krusinski not having given the reins to his powers of fancy.

Hanway, who, after his return from the East, became justly noted, not only as a traveller, but for the assistance he afforded in the establishment of the Marine Society, the Magdalen, and Sunday Schools, has been highly praised by Sir John Malcolm, and the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone. In Rees's Cyclopædia, he is described as a traveller who was enabled to obtain a knowledge of the manners, the customs, and modern history of Persia, which few European travellers ever before possessed; but his Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea, with a Journal of Travels from London through Russia, Persia, &c., is declared to be too prolix to be read with real satisfaction; though it abounds with curious and instructive matter. Mr. Hanway, indeed, may be said not to have been more than ten months in Persia; having, after his voyage down the Caspian, landed for the first time on the shores of Langarood on the 3rd of December 1743, and embarked again for Astrachan in the middle of September the following year. He met Nadir Shah's camp to the south of Casween, and remained with it about a week,

without having an audience with the monarch; and appears not to have proceeded quite so far south as Hamadan, the encampment being about a league to the north of this town. The course of his travels, part of the time being passed on the Caspian, was greatly limited to Reshd and Astrabad, and the country between. He suffered greatly, also, during his short stay in that country, with sickness, and the disturbances in which those regions were then involved, even to a state of general desolation. Hamadan is the southernmost of the places particularly entered in his own map; for the one in the second volume, containing Persia and India, is a compilation from other sources. The four several routes taken by other travellers, to be found in this author's miscellaneous work, do not extend to the south of Reshd, nor further east than Mushed; the most entertaining one being that of Messrs. Hogg and Thompson to Khiva, whose latitude they give as 38° 30′. The former of these gentlemen was in that city during October 1740; when Nadir Shah, on his return from his expedition to India, took that place, now rendered so interesting by being the object of a Russian armament of considerable force. The Persian conqueror, having marched through Afghanistan, and by Bulkh and Bokhara to its attack, took possession of it about twenty-four years after the failure of the Russian expedition, under Alexander Betawitz. This general, who was a prince of Georgian descent, the Khan of Khiva, in person, had executed in a very barbarous

manner, after the greater part of the Russian troops had fallen a prey to the Uzbeg Tartars; since in this attempt to gain possession of Khiva, most of the army who survived the effects of the famine and the sword, were made captives by the enemy.

In respect to the opinion given in Rees's Cyclopædia of Hanway's work being too prolix to be read with real satisfaction, this remark is more applicable to the miscellaneous contents of the first volume, in great part relating to European states, than to the second, containing the history of Persia; and if applicable at all to one so praised by all who have travelled in that country, it may be ascribed to the British public not having in those times equal reason to take an interest in the nations he describes, as at present, when such interest is daily gaining a deeper intensity. A most satisfactory part of the history, however, is that which Hanway has derived from the materials Krusinski's Memoirs afforded. The resemblance of his text and arrangement to those of the Jesuit, is clearly distinguishable, though he is only once named as an authority in the body of the work. The author of the "Account of Caubul," on observing that the best accounts he could obtain of the Douranees, were those of Hanway, adds "that he is, from the excellency of his History of the Afghan Conquests, entitled to attention when treating of the more obscure period which preceded those events." Sir John Malcolm observes, "All the important events which occurred in the reign of Shah Hoossein, have been minutely

described by a Polish missionary of learning and observation, who was at Isfahan during the greater part of the time of which he writes, and had the best opportunities of obtaining the most accurate information." Again, the same historian testifies,—"The Memoir of this author is corroborated by a valuable Persian manuscript; and it has received additional authenticity from being adopted as a correct narrative of facts, by an English traveller who visited Persia a few years subsequently, and who must have known many of the actors in the extraordinary scenes which the missionary describes. The latter writer was fully competent to judge of the fidelity of the work, and he would never have given the authority of his name to falsehood and misrepresentation; for he——:" but a fuller character of Hanway may be seen, on turning to the gallant officer's History.

This reference to the merchant-historian, as the most competent judge of the fidelity of Krusinski's account, should be taken with some caution, particularly after reading the journal of Hanway's travels in the first volume. "Having no good interpreter with me at Lahijan, nor many conveniences of life, I avoided the visits of the Persians," is one extract from this journal, about fifteen days before the author's final embarkation on the Caspian, to return home. Though he informs us of having passed the interval at Reshd in enquiries, and digesting and comparing his own observations; he likewise writes—"There I enjoyed greater security, at least of my person, than I had for eight months

before, having been engaged in a continual warfare; but although the scene was changed, it was not altered much for the better, for I was engaged in a severe contest, in which both my interest and honour were concerned." Other parts of the Diary of this plundered and often greatly distressed merchant, show him to have possessed little or no acquaintance with Persian; and if he knew an Asiatic language, it was but a few words of Turkish. If Hanway, in the northern provinces, became known personally to any of the actors in the scenes Krusinski describes, it is evident they must have been twenty-nine years older. In his journal Hanway never mentions the Jesuit, or any of these persons; which he would surely otherwise have done, had he met them, since his own work rendered them so famous throughout Europe. He finds many Afghan and Bulochee soldiers in Nadir's army, five hundred Afghans forming the guard from Casween to the camp in the vicinity of Hamadan; but he never relates an enquiry he made of any of them, except one with a very communicative Bulochy, while on his journey to Nadir's encampment.

But if the complimentary opinion passed by Sir John Malcolm on Hanway, as a traveller particularly competent to judge of the merits of the Memoirs, into the use of which he led the way, should not be admitted without caution, and the testimony of the earliest of these two historians in behoof of Krusinski's merits, be found of less worth, the testimony is only shifted upon one who had a more practical ex-

perience in the essentials for becoming a revising historian of Persia; and the conclusive phrase of Sir John Malcolm, "He never would have given the authority of his name to misrepresentation," fixes itself more strongly on his own responsibility as one bearing witness to the fact.

As the author of the more modern history of Persia, Sir John Malcolm frequently quotes the edition he had obtained of Krusinski, as if preferring the exact text of this eye-witness of the occurrences at Isfahan during its siege, to the alterations which Hanway either from the anecdotes this one had been led by curiosity to collect, during his sojourn in the East, as stated in his introduction; or through other information might have made in the missionary's Memoirs. Thus Sir J. Malcolm—who, from his much longer residence in the central portions of Persia, and Isfahan itself, than Hanway's in the northern provinces bordering on the Caspian, and from his extensive knowledge of the language, and from the conveniences and aid he could command, deserves great deference from those who have to depend upon the relations of others—takes notice of the remarkable difference in the accounts given of the battle of Julnabad, by Hanway and Krusinski; the former accusing the Wully of Arabia of being a traitor, whilst the latter asserts the accusation of his acting treacherously on that unfortunate day to be calumnious. It may be supposed that the merchant had not a copy of the Jesuit's work, in

Persia; at any rate he does not allude to it in his journal.

Hanway, being born at Portsmouth in 1712, could have been but twelve or thirteen years old when Krusinski returned from Persia; and could have been but little acquainted with that country, from his being apprenticed at Lisbon, and having lived many of his earlier years in that city, where much interest could not be felt for the Russian trade over the Caspian; his after engagement in which led, in February, 1743, to his indulging a desire to visit the East. He arrived at St. Petersburgh on the 10th of June that year; and by a sudden requisition of his services, began his journey on the first of September, being then about thirty-one years of age. The greater part of 1744, he passed in the Persian provinces of Geelan, and Mazenderan, which formed a portion of the ancient Hyrcania, rather than of Persia Proper. He reached St. Petersburg on the 1st of January, 1745, never having approached nearer than Astrabad, to Mushed, the great object of his journey, as the capital of Khorasan, and the favorite city of Nadir Shah, who was an Eimuk Toorkooman by descent. In the former place, the travelling trader was plundered of his merchandise—a loss, that with all the exertions he could make during his stay in the country, till September, he did not recover. From the time he left St. Petersburgh to his return to that city, he had only been absent about a year and four months; and having been under circumstances little adapted for historical research,

and less so for writing a long history,* his great success therein may be ascribed to the after period of his life. He staid in the Russian capital five years; but on his return to England rendered himself celebrated by several works of great industry and talent. That much of his writings were accomplished after his return from Persia, is shown by several parts of his productions: thus in Chapter L. in the midst of his Journal, he gives an account of the persons, genius, character, and diet of the modern Persians, their hospitality, dress, &c.; but having averred in an early part of it, that they had money enough, he corrects this assertion in a note, by observing, that he spoke of a time a few years subsequent to Nadir's death.

In the introduction to his large work, the dedications of which are dated January 1753, he writes: "As I found no regular and continued account of Nadir Shah, I resolved to use my own papers, with the addition of such as I could procure here, and in Russia. The proper basis of such a work seemed to be the revolutions of Persia during this century, till the time he came to act so dreadful a part on the stage of life. This period takes in nearly thirty years, and includes the unhappy reign of Shah Hussein, with the invasion of the Afghans. The account we have hitherto had of this matter is imperfect; I should not however have launched so deep, but that I found a French piece lately published, the author of which,†

* See for example, Chapter 8, of Part III.

† Whom he states in a note to be M. Clairac.

has taken great pains in collecting the best materials." He proceeds to observe how writers in the east, and even Europeans, who have not been on the spot, have a propensity to the marvellous, and how he endeavoured to rectify the same.

In the British Museum, there is a French edition of the history of Persia, from the beginning of the century till 1750, by the Count de la Mamye de Clairac, which was printed at Paris in 1750. But the mention of Krusinski's own memoirs, in the body of the work itself, may evince them to have been more accessible to Hanway; and M. Clairac himself admits them to have furnished the grounds for his narrative, he taking other information from the newspapers of that time; whence Du Cerceau, in the preface to his version, published in 1728, twenty-two years before that of Clairac, states himself to have obtained the latter part of his history, particularly citing "Le Mercure of the 23rd of March, 1726, &c." Clairac also informs us that he obtained communications from men of high authority, Moostufa Effendi being expressly mentioned; and this Turkish noble is represented to be the authority on which he offers the account of Georgis Khan's demand on Meer Veis that he should send his beautiful daughter into the Prince's haram, and that it caused the first insurrection at Candahar, which led to the death of the Viceroy, and the extirpation in 1709 of the forces he had brought to keep the Afghans in subjection; the designed dishonour raising the indignation of the people. Clairac is

therefore much more minute in this important point of Afghan history than Krusinski; whose account, as Du Cerceau professes to give it, contains but eighteen lines. The narrative in the Tareekh-i-Seeah, totally differing from either, possibly constitutes the best caution to the foreigners, who now, in some respect like the Georgian prince, exercise power in Afghanistan by force of arms, from placing too great reliance on the professions of any Afghan chief.

In these times, Moostufa Effendi exercised great influence in Turkey: and when Clodius, the Arabic Professor at Leipzig, and author of other learned works, was applied to as a fit person to translate the Turkish narrative into Latin, the Effendi represented the Porte at the Court of Vienna. According to the Professor's own preface, the Ottoman minister sent him several letters, with the Goolshen Khulefa, the seventh book printed at Constantinople, and containing the annals of Bagdad—therefore, like the one before us, an historical work, relating to the southern parts of the Turkish Empire; and Clodius himself designed to have added a supplement to this Persico-Afghan History. Moostufa Effendi, whom the Latin translator calls a hero of singular virtue and learning, was afterwards employed in Persia, and negociated the treaty of peace concluded between the Porte and Nadir Shah, in 1746. From the account given by the Arabic Professor, the Turkish authorities took considerable pains to improve the work, of which the Memoirs of Krusinski formed the origin. The Polish missionary

left Persia with the ambassador whom Ashruf sent to the Ottoman Court; in whose suite the celebrated Armenian noble, Manuel Cheriman, also entered Turkey in an official capacity. But the Turks taking umbrage at the ambassador, Abool Azeez Khan, giving his master too arrogant a title, the treaty of peace was not concluded until September the next year, when it was agreed to by Ashruf himself, and Ahmed, the Padshah of Bagdad, and Seraskier of the Ottoman army, in the neighbourhood of Hamadan, and published at Constantinople on the 18th of November, 1727. In the meanwhile, the operations of the Porte had been active against Persia; its army, which marched into that country, surprising Casween, and advancing even to the neighbourhood of Isfahan. Although the Afghan Shah, Ashruf, defeated the invaders, they approached Isfahan twice during the war, and took the great cities of Tabreez and Hamadan. In the peace concluded in September 1727, it was particularly stipulated that the Turks were to keep possession of these cities, the latter of which was the ancient capital of Media, the Ecbatana where Parmenio was put to death by Alexander's order. The Turks, therefore, when they printed the Tareekh-i-Seeah, in 1728, had great interest in obtaining correct information about Persia, and as great opportunities of doing so. Clodius describes the author of the Turkish work, to have been named Ibrahim, one of the Muteferreke—or, as the word implies, "the select," troop of cavalry forming the Sultan's body-

guard, but does not give a distinct account of this officer. He, however, quotes a letter from Matthew Iliac to the Publisher at Leipzig, dated the 20th July 1730, which states, that Du Cerceau's work having been published at Paris, from letters sent by Krusinski to the Procurator of the French missions in the Levant, the Effendi was persuaded by the Ottoman ministers to translate the French account, and to detail the events more fully, and to present it at Court; that the accounts were verified by a Persian Khan, who was then a prisoner in that capital, and by other captives; and that when quite complete, it was printed in the type lately introduced into Turkey.

According to the account given by Davids, in the preface to his Turkish Grammar, "Ibrahim Effendi, a learned and ingenious man, and Syud Effendi, who had been secretary to the Turkish embassy in France, had the management of the press. That when, as related in the Turkish author's preface, an interruption occurred in the printing of the two first works, as they required correction, Ibrahim Effendi undertook to translate Krusinski, for the purpose of its being put into the press, as the third work the printing of which was undertaken." The Effendi is described by Davids to have much improved on the original work, and to have corrected several errors in the chronology and events, which had crept into the edition he translated from. It is remarkable that, though great pains were taken to render the work more copious, as well as more correct, it stops at the

time of the departure of Krusinski from Persia, in 1725; and none of the events intervening between that period and 1728, are detailed by the editor, perhaps from his anxiety to keep the press employed. The learned Turk appears either to have written or revised other works, subsequently to the present one, and may be set down as a great and very useful friend to Oriental literature.

The earliest of the several versions which appear to be given of the Memoirs of the Polish Missionary, that has been seen by the translator, is a small tract published in London, in 1727, and is preserved in the British Museum. It is called, "An Historical Account of the Revolution in Persia, in the year 1722-5," wherein the rise and progress of those fatal broils, which from one of the most flourishing monarchies in Asia, have reduced the Persian Empire to a desolate wilderness, are set in a true light; and the imperfect notions the public hitherto had of these great events are fully cleared up; together with a relation of the miseries occasioned by the siege of Ispahan, the capital city, which exceedeth all we read of Jerusalem, when besieged by Titus and Vespasian. Written by a French missionary, who was an eye-witness of most of the facts, and by him transmitted to M. Le Maire, Consul of France at Tripoli in Syria. To which is prefixed, a Genealogical Account of the Royal Family of Persia, by the translator."* But Du Cerceau avers he received the memoirs from R. P. Fleurian, Procurator

* It is press-marked as $\frac{1053}{4}$ h.

of the Jesuit missions in the Levant, to form them into a work; and that they had been sent by Krusinski himself to that personage, who had before published six volumes of memoirs of the missions in the Levant; and this may probably be the name of the Procurator mentioned in the above letter of Matthew Iliac. Should the tract, however, not be founded on Krusinski, which is a supposition that is almost irresistibly disproved by a simple perusal, and if it be the work of another hand, it affords an ample corroboration of all the principal events as detailed by the Tareekh.

Most accounts agree in Du Cerceau's having died at Veret, the seat of the Duke of Aiguillon, near Tours, in 1730,* after having been the author of several works, amongst which, some of the biographical publications which take any notice of him, mention a life of Thamasp Koully Khan, edited in 1741. In the "Privilege du Roi," granted on the fourth of August 1741, to A. C. Briasson, the publisher at Paris, for Du Cerceau's "Histoire de la dernière Revolution de Perse," La Vie de Thamas Kouli Khan is also mentioned; and the latter work seems to have been brought out as a posthumous one, and as intended to have been attached to the preceding one, though this intention does not appear to have been carried into effect. The learned author of the "Account of the Kingdom of Caubul" quotes Krusinski in the first, as well as in the revised edition of his work, in the exact words of Du Cerceau's compilation in French, though the reference to the page does not quite correspond with the second Parisian

* The Biographie Universelle states in 1750.

edition. Sir John Malcolm refers to him nearly in the phraseology of a translation, which the present translator of the Tareekh has found, published in London, A. D. 1728, though here again the references to the pages do not agree; yet, whether any other impression of this English version took place is uncertain, and it appears upon inquiry to be little known to the town booksellers, as the generality of the public have, until very lately, taken but little interest in oriental matters. With regard to "La Vie de Thamas Kouli Khan," that work must have been imperfect; since the assassination near Mushed, of Nadir Shah, did not occur till June 1747; and Hanway having mentioned in 1753, the imperfect histories of that conqueror as the cause of his undertaking an historical work, part of which he has so extensively derived from Krusinski, it may be not improper to mention that Sir William Jones, to whom oriental literature was afterwards so much indebted, did not make his celebrated translation, "L'Histoire de Nadir Chah," which he undertook at the request of the King of Denmark, until 1770.

To the paramount interest created by the movements of this enterprising chieftain, the conqueror of Persia, of Afghanistan, Dehly, Bokhara, and Khiva, may be attributed the diminished one the British public, —being then, comparatively with the present times, slightly connected with India—took in the fortunes of Meer Veis, and the Afghan princes, his successors; while at this day all authentic memoirs, relating to the countries lying between India and the Caspian, are con-

stantly becoming more valuable, and eagerly sought for, even in England. The great interest taken in them by Russia, and the jealousy wherewith she viewed, even in those early days, the attempts made by English merchants to establish a trade with Persia, and also with Bokhara, and Khieva, by the Caspian, are well displayed in several parts of the first volume of Hanway and others, not long after, Krusinski describes such a ferment to have arisen in Persia, by the arrival of Israel Ori, an Armenian, as the ambassador of the Czar of Russia. The exposition* given on that occasion by the French ambassador, who in the "Tareekh," is called Michael, and by Du Cerceau, M. Michell, led, according to Hanway, to Meer Veis being consulted on this subject, and in a great degree to this subsequently fortunate rebel being honorably sent back to Candahar.

Russell, in his "Modern Europe," though allowing Peter the Great, in 1722, the motives of desiring to assist the Persian monarch against the Afghans, asserts, "the new Sophy presented him with three provinces, which comprised the greater part of the ancient kingdom of the Medes." But he is here not quite correct, since we find, by referring to part ix., chapter the 2nd, of Hanway, that though Ismael Beg, Shah Tahmasp's minister at the court of St. Peters-

* The Tareekh-i-Seeah does not mention the equivocating story of the anagram, "Il sera Roi," formed from "Israel Ori," by M. Michell, to terrify the Persian Court, which is given us by Hanway, Clairac, Du Cerceau, and others.

burgh, executed the treaty of Sept. 23, 1723, by which the cession of the provinces of Geelan, Mazenderan and Astrabad was covenanted, the Shah was so irritated at the passive compliance of his ambassador, that he ordered the Russian plenipotentiary to withdraw from his court; moreover, Ashruf's treaty of 1727 left the Turks masters of Hamadan, and the greater portion of the kingdom of the Medes.

Russell also is in error, when he says it was to assist the lawful ruler, Shah Tahmasp, whose father had been murdered by an usurper; for Krusinski relates how Ashruf, on assuming the authority, after he had caused Mahmood to be put to death, in April 1725, tried to console Shah Hoossein, and how he pretended to offer the restoration of the kingdom to him. Besides, the old monarch was not murdered till 1729, whilst Peter himself died in 1725. John Bell describes the Czar of Russia, in 1722, to have made preparations to undertake an expedition into Persia, at the earnest request of Shah Hoossein, to assist him against the Afghans. Peter the Great, according to this author, who was employed as a physician, reached, in company with the Empress, the then Persian town of Derbend, in 1722; but retired in the middle of September, on finding his projects for reinstating Shah Hoossein hopeless.

Dr. Bell was before engaged in an embassy to China, and another to Persia, in 1716-19; Artemic Petrovich Velanski, being in this instance the name of the ambassador. He does not mention Krusinski by name,

but states a M. Ricard and twelve missionaries to have dined with the plenipotentiary, and to have been very entertaining persons. He also confirms the account of the indolence of Shah Hoossein, and of Fetteh Ally Khan, a native of Daghestan, being then Etimad Dowlet; and states that the rebellion at Candahar had already broken out, and that Isfahan appeared defenceless, the wall round it being slight, and full of breaches, so that it could not defend itself for a day. It was during the embassy at Isfahan, that the Russian expedition to Khiva failed; for Bell, who makes it an affair of small importance, describes the assistance afforded to the embassy, on its return from Isfahan, at Nizabad, by some of the soldiers that escaped; for it should be borne in mind that a detached party, which did not advance into Khiva, defended themselves at Karaboogaskoy, where a small fort had been erected near the Caspian, and whence they found means to reach Nizabad by sea. In regard to the position of Russia in those times, it may be remarked that Capt. Hamilton writes; "In anno 1716, I carried some Armenian merchants from Persia to Surat, and they informed me that there was a design to depose the King, and set up his son, or invite the Muscovites into the province of Casbin, where a foreign army might be easily brought into their ports; and certainly there was such a design, for in anno 1719, the plot for deposing the King was found out, and the Atemadoulet, or Vizier, was deeply concerned." That mariner then relates the fate of this minister, in a manner confirming

Krusinski's account; but erroneously calls him the father of Meer Veis.

Du Cerceau, who professes to add somewhat to the memoirs of Krusinski, from the French Gazettes, specifying "Le Mercure," in particular, describes the Turks to have retained, by the peace made with Ashruf, countries of two hundred leagues in length, measuring from the south of Georgia to Hamadan, and in some parts a hundred in breadth; comprising Armenia, Azoorbaijan, and Koordistan; and Hanway, in confirming this cession, adds also, the cities Sultanayah, Arbah, Tehran, Zengan, and their dependencies. The latter writer describes the Turkish language to be the most common in the provinces he visited; and this seems to accord with David's account of the language, given in the preface to his grammar. Ashruf, in his several communications with Turkey, endeavoured very much to encourage the principle of the Turks and Afghans being brothers, as Soonees, and such like circumstances, connected with the recollection of the origin of the Turks being traced to Toorkistan. On this head, chapter lvii. of Gibbon, contains much that is very interesting.

Rees' Cyclopedia, under the head "Afghans," comprises the several genealogies to which they are deemed entitled; and concludes, by showing Sir W. Jones to have entertained no doubt of the Afghans being descended from the Israelites, and his opinion is given at length therein; but it is sufficient to remark here, "that it commences," as we learn from Esdras, that the

ten tribes, after a wandering journey, came to a country called Arsaxeth." He proceeds to show this to bear some resemblance to Hazareth, which is within the limits of Afghanistan, and was in all probability included in the kingdom of the Arsacidæ. The author of "The Account of Caubul," will be found, (if referred to, at vol. 1. p.p. 201-9,) to ably remark, at length, on the title of the Afghans to claim descent from the Jews. Burnes rather favors the idea of this genealogy; but remarks that though they claim an origin from the Beni Israel, they are averse to the term of Jews being applied to them: perhaps this statement of the enterprising traveller may tend to show the necessity of guarding against the confusion of Jews and Israelites, in our endeavours to gain information about the long lost tribes.

A like genealogy is shown by Rees to be assumed for the Turks; and Knolles, in his history of the last-mentioned nation, published so far back as 1610, more than two centuries ago, writes that Morney derives the Turks and Tartars from the Jews—namely, from "the ten tribes, which were by Salmanazer, King of Assyria, in the time of Osius, King of Israel, carried away in captivity, and by him confined in Media;" according to II. Kings, chapter xvii. and xviii., "in Halah and Habor, by the river Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." B.C. 721, or just before Ecbatana was built by Dejoces.

A history of the origin of the Afghan nation, by a Christian ecclesiastic like Krusinski, from materials

given him by Afghans, may therefore derive some interest by having undergone the ordeal of correction by a Turk; more especially if reference be made to similar parts of history—as chapter 57 of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Gibbon; and some of the first chapters of Brigg's history of the "Rise of the Mahomedan power in India;"—wherein are accounts of the contests between the Turkish branches of Ghiznee and of Seljouk, in the eleventh century, for the country now inhabited by the Afghans and their neighbours. It may be remarked, however, that though in the genealogy now submitted, as one corrected by the learned Turk, so well versed in history as Ibrahim Effendi, Teimoor be represented to have brought the Afghans from near Daghestan, and established them betwen Persia and India, in accordance with an ancient custom in Asia, when conquered inhabitants proved turbulent, Ferishta, the historian whom General Briggs has so carefully translated, relates how, in 1008—that is three hundred years before Teimoor appeared on the banks of the Indus—10,000 Turks, Afghans, and Khiljees, with 6000 Arabian horse, pursued and slew twenty thousand Hindoos; and how, in 1049, the Afghans in Sind and Mooltan declared, though unsuccessfully, their independence: nay, even in his introduction, he states the Mahomedan Afghans to have laid waste Kirman, &c., as early as A.D. 682. "The Abdoollees (the Huzarehs of this volume, and the Douranees of the present day)," writes the historian of Caubul, who is quoted as

to their position within the boundaries of Afghanistan, "were only lately moved to their present seats;" and by that writer are stated to be Toorkomans; whilst in Krusinski's and Ibrahim's joint account they are called Afghans, and may, therefore be deemed a connecting link between the two now distinct races of Turks and Afghans, who are thus represented to be derived from a common stock, the ten tribes of Israel. It is not intended deeply to discuss the descent from the Jews of the Turks, who are, by some writers, called descendants of the Teucri, or ancient Trojans, from a slight analogy in the names; but it may be allowed, in relation to the phrase of scripture history, "by the river Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes," to remark that the Caspian is by d'Herbelot called Cozgoun, and that Sir John Malcolm mentions the great rapidity of a river called the Cozran; that Cuthah, from whence the King of Assyria supplied other inhabitants to fill the places of those removed from Samaria, is generally allowed to be the present Khusistan, or Chusistan; that Hamath resembles the present name of the city of Jumshed—Hamadan, so long the capital of the Seljouk Turks of Iran; and that though Sepharvaim, whence came the Sepharvites, who burnt their children in fire, may differ largely from Isfahan, even considering it as a noun plural:* yet Spahawn, or Aspa, or Aspadina, as this Persian city was called by the Greeks, may resemble the Hebrew pronunciation more

* Vide Mant's Bible, 2 Kings, ch. xvii., verse 37.

closely.* Moreover, Davids considers the Jaghataian, or Mavur-ool-Nehra, to be a dialect of the Turkish language; and besides, the number of Afghan and Persian captives, must have greatly facilitated a man so able and so diligent in research as Ibrahim Effendi in correcting the more prominent mistakes of the missionary.

Mr. Auber, in his work on China,* seems inclined to coincide with Sir John Malcolm, in his opinion that the Afghans were descended from the Jewish tribes carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar; and thus seems to distinguish them from the Israelites, the prisoners of Salamanasar, and states that some of the chiefs trace their families to David and to Saul. The talented secretary of the India House seems to be inaccurate when he states that Shah Hoossein applied to Russia for assistance against the Afghans in 1710; for at that early period, and the year after, no force except that of Georgis Khan had been baffled by the

* It is not intended to insist that any very great reliance should be placed on the similarity of ancient and modern names; else such books as Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, might connect the conquerors who have lately travelled northward from India to Afghanistan, with parts of Toorkistan. Thus, in chapter 1, book ii., near the marginal note, Sakai-suna, probably the Saxons; he mentions the Sacæ among the most distinguished people of Scythia, and shews them to be placed eastward of the Caspian, and to have seized Bactriana. Ptolemy, and Solinus describe these reputed progenitors of the Saxons, to have inhabited the country that lies to the east of Bactriana and Sogdiana, and towards the north of Mount Imaus.

* Page 107.

revolters; consequently the court of Isfahan would have felt no uneasiness in coping with the tribes who were subsequently to this period so vigorously attacked by Khoosrow Khan.

The relationship of Khoosrow Khan to Georgis Khan is not clearly stated in the Chronicles. In one part, when left in command of Georgia, he is styled the viceroy's brother *(frater)*; and in another, when appointed commander-in-chief against the rebels, his brother's son, *(fratris filius)*. To avoid the apparent confusion, I translated it by the term brother; nevertheless, the seeming inconsistency might be reconciled by the supposition of two Khoosrows, father and son, and that the former was the Georgian deputy. We might find some warrant for this in the accounts of Clairac and Hanway; yet these agree in calling the senior of these two princes Levan Khan, not Khoosrow; and Clairac censures Du Cerceau for his statement of the younger being appointed to the command of Georgia during his uncle's absence, to the exclusion of the father. Probably this might be therefore deemed one of the amendments which Ibrahim Effendi made; in the first place, by correcting the relationship, as given by Du Cerceau, and secondly, by acquainting us with the real name of Georgis Khan's brother. But the interval being so short, this particular name should not have been applied to two princes without a somewhat more explicit distinction.

It was likely to happen, that the Pole who had resided so long among the Persian followers of Imam

Ally, should feel some prejudice against the Afghans of Candahar, who were Soonees; and the kind author of the History of "Caubul," considers the missionary to be rather harsh against the Afghans. Any unmeasured disrepute of them as Soonees would be of course corrected by Ibrahim Effendi; yet it will probably appear, that after the amendments of this learned Turk, the habits and customs of the Afghans are treated with sufficient freedom and censure. Du Cerceau, probably without being aware of the mistake, is indeed, in some parts, severe against the Persians, for in places where an impartial and well-informed historian would adopt the word Sheeah, he uses the term Rafi. Thus, even in the text he professes to take from Krusinski, he writes, "the two sects are known by the name Sunni, which signifies the Turks and other sectaries of Omar, and of Rafi, which characterizes the Persians and other followers of Ally:" and in his own preface he uses the term "Rafi," so misspelt from Rafezy, even more harshly against Shah Hoossein, and the Sufvees his predecessors. He may probably have learnt the term by enquiring in the Levant, or of some persons connected with it, about the sect to which the Persians belonged. It cannot be believed, that the missionary, who is blamed by so discreet a judge for being harsh on the Afghans, would in regard to differences in points of religion, be, on the contrary, so severe against the Persians and their sovereigns, as to style them heretics, instead of using the common classification of Sheeah, or of the sect of Imam Ally;

though Ibrahim Effendi had reason, by being a Soonee himself, to use, as he has done, the opprobrious epithet. The work has certainly been much improved by having many absurdities and errors expunged from it; and the coarse allusions of Du Cerceau, to the imprecations reciprocally thundered forth between the Turks and Persians, with the vulgar allusions to the Jews and Armenians, have been very properly omitted.*

While we are on the subject of appellations, a remark on the word Fire-worshippers, which is used in this translation, to distinguish the followers of Zoroaster, ought to be made. It has been used in preference to the Magi of the original, (where they are however most frequently called "Ignis cultores,") or the Parsees of Hanway, for the reason that the term Parsee has too great a reference to the class settled in India, whilst the Hindoos are expressly distinguished from them in the enumeration of Mahmood's army; and John Bell assures us that he saw many of them begging in the streets. Nasir Alla, allowed even in the Memoirs, which have undergone so severe a scrutiny from a Turkish Soonee at Constantinople, to have been the most successful general serving in the Afghan cause, is stated to have been a Fire-worshipper, who had joined Mahmood from India.

These remarks have been thought allowable, in order to sufficiently explain the reason why this attempt has been made of translating the version of

* See Hist. de la Derniere Revol., vol. 1, p. 193.

Krusinski's Memoirs, by Ibrahim Effendi, and Clodius. Whether Krusinski himself wrote the Latin copy from which the Effendi made the Turkish translation, the present translator does not pretend to decide, but refers here again to the afore-mentioned letter of Matthew Iliac, which seems to intimate that it was from the French of Du Cerceau. It is however probable, that the Pole may not have been sufficiently versed in French, to write a history in that language, and might have rather had resort to another, in the use of which he seems from his other works to have been familiar; while the Polish was ill adapted, particularly from the declining state of Poland, to disseminate a knowledge of the memoirs throughout Europe. But if the Latin copy had not been greatly corrected by the Turkish translator, in the opinion of its author, there could have been no occasion to give Clodius the laborious commission of making a retranslation of it into Latin—an effort that he did not long survive, and which he assures us he completed in the almost incredible space of six weeks, though it was in the depth of winter, and he was suffering at the time with a very severe disease, which threatened the most fatal consequences. He does not seem to have seen the other version in Latin, and complains of the difficulty of reducing the flowery style in which the Turkish account had been written. It is probable that the Turks, with a view to remedy errors which they conceived to be propagated in the preceding accounts of this rebellion, determined to counteract their effects, by

publishing another in a tongue so generally known as the Latin, among well educated persons in the European states to the westward of them; and at the same time to make it subservient to the purpose of rendering the establishment of a press at Constantinople generally known. If Krusinski had assisted the Effendi in making the Turkish version, it is to be supposed that Ibrahim, who long continued to be a great patron of science, would have made some reference to him; but from the circumstance of his name never being even once mentioned throughout the work, or even that of the author of the version originally used, we may be led to form a decided opinion, that the one translated was Du Cerceau's, which was published both at the Hague, and at Paris, anonymously. At the same time, Krusinski, who attended Ashruf's ambassador to Constantinople, is described in 1729 to be at Kaminiek, and to have passed his latter days there; a place so close to the frontiers of Turkey, that the Turks held possession of it for the last twenty-seven years of the seventeenth century. It may therefore be conjectured that he was versed in the language of the contiguous nation, and that he had not removed far from Constantinople, when his work became one of the earliest specimens of science propagated by the Sultan's press.

Among the far more meritorious claims of many works publishing on the affairs of Afghanistan and Persia, in the present day, this translation is offered as one of small pretensions; yet, even if it tend to

settle only a few points of Afghan history and character, in some, though small, aid of cotemporary researches on the same subject, the translator will have earned his reward, by having contributed to the improvement of Afghan history, even in that small degree. It is not long since, that a translation of an ancient Afghan History, * was published under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society. The present translator admits the interest of the subject, and pretends not to have studied the work so as to offer an opinion thereon—certainly not one which would evince himself disposed to generally treat of it with anything but praise, especially after the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone's marked approval of it; yet it may be pardonable to observe, that in the preface of Professor Dorn, the Afghans are represented about 1720 to have captured Isfahan "under Meer Vais," and to have remained in that country; and in the list of books, the title of one is translated as if it treated on the "conquest of Isphahan under Meer Vais," though this name does not appear in the original. Now it is erroneous in respect to history, to attribute the taking of the Persian capital to that chieftain, who died in 1717, when it was not besieged under Meer Mahmood until 1722, being taken on the 22nd October, that year. Though it may be alleged, that the error in the place in which it happened was of little importance, and not uncommon, seeing that Captain Hamilton, who was accustomed to trade

* Of Neamet Ullah, by Professor Dorn, whose valuable labours will afford much amusement to the curious in Afghan genealogies.

with Persia, has made a similar one; yet it may prove advantageous that such a narrative of the siege as that of Krusinski, in the version of Ibrahim Effendi, should be available as a help to correct information of the name of the chief, who, leading the Afghans on in that memorable and successful enterprise, gained thereby the crown of Persia, rather less than 120 years before the British, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria, entered as conquerors, the city, whence Mahmood, and the Afghans he led forth to so great a conquest, proceeded. The countries known in the most comprehensive sense under the name of Afghanistan, have since been subject to a great diversity of rule; and the uncertainty of prosperity is scarcely anywhere more impressively displayed, than in the fate of Ashruf. The memoirs of Krusinski end with describing him as sending to the Porte, the minister, who arrogated to his master the title of Imam in Persia; but in 1729, being successively defeated at Damghan, Moorshakoor, and Istakir, he was forced to retreat from Isfahan towards his native country, with 1500 men. The Bulochees, who formed part of the Afghan confederacy, and who were the principal assistants of Meer Veis, in his plot against the Georgian prince, the Persian viceroy among them, furnished another memorable proof of the treachery to which they are by habit disposed, by plundering the ex-sultan, whom they slew, with all those who accompanied him in his flight back towards Afghanistan. The Bulochees have caused the British troops lately sent to occupy Canda-

har and Kabul, and perchance to execute the duty of advancing further into Khorasan, probably even to Herat and Bulk, more trouble than the purer races of Afghans.

May Britain succeed, however, in long maintaining her power in those countries; and by warily proving herself to the natives to merit the influential rank she seeks, be progressively gaining strength from their gratitude and fidelity.

London, May 6th, 1840.

TURKISH AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN THE NAME OF THE MERCIFUL COMMISERATOR.

It is just and reasonable to extol the most laudable works of the bountiful Creator of all things; and that this Lord dwelling in the Highest should be solemnly adored by all men, since the beautiful production of creatures, and the possession of Honor and Happiness in either World, and Want and Wretchedness depend on the Decrees of His Providence. Say, Oh God! the Possessor of Empire, Who givest to whom Thou wilt, and takest away from whom Thou choosest, and makest vile whom Thou desirest, that it is righteous in Thy hands, because thou art able to do all things, and by His glorious Word (Al Koran), as with a full breast, doth sharpen and illuminate our blunted vision. It is fitting humbly to offer up perpetual adorations, and grateful salutations to that Quintessence of things created, The Most Excellent amongst all, to that Fountain of desires for the People, to the Spring of sweet and limpid Waters, to Him that scattereth the abundance of His pardons like the finest dust and musk, because His noble existence and sacred attributes have caused the creation of the universe.

Glory is due to those who, in the End, shall be His Companions; to the Defenders of Religion; the Leaders in the right way; those shining stars, since by their light the shadows of ignorance were dispelled, and by their deeds and exertions, quickness and perspicuity fell upon the eyes of the diligent.

After these premises, this is the cause of the edition of the present work. His present Cœsarian Majesty Ahmed, the reigning Sultan, The Most High Lord, the Amulet of Faith and Security; The firm and steadfast Goal of Succour; Ruler of Arabia, Persia, and Greece; The most Potent Sovereign; Always Victorious, in whom may God delight!—in the most prosperous period of the Empire, which, after Sooliman, devolved on him, amongst other very memorable and illustrious acts for the common weal, set his heart on the establishment of an Official Press, in the year of the Hijra 1140, and 26th of his reign. When the Supreme President in Civil and Military affairs, who preserves the Renown of the Eternal Empire, the Shadow of the August Sovereign, the most benign Hero, Ibrahim Padshah—and may God bestow on him whatsoever he desireth!—perceived in his sublime mind, that comprehends the circle of the Sciences, and administers to the business of State, that by this rare and singular institution, books were multiplied, knowledge increased, and those who cultivated it encouraged; not only graciously received the humble petition, presented to him in his Divan, the office from whence benefits flow, for the purpose of forwarding

this intention, which is profitable to the people who profess the Unity of the Deity, and to others, but began to promote it: thinking it most commendable, he consulted on it with the nobles of the empire, and that a high opinion might be given on the subject, he conferred with the present High Priest of the Mahomedans, Abdallah Effendi, the resolver of doubts, the Phœnix of the age, about its institution, who assiduously took care to promote it for the general convenience, so that it should be established by the decree of the most exalted Emperor, the Asylum of the World, and be recorded in the public archives for a perpetual memorial.

On this assurance the impression of the works selected as necessary for the sciences, for printing, such as an Arabic Lexicon, by Gieuhari, called "Sehhâhh," and a book named "Ankuli," much esteemed on account of its rarity, excellence and utility, was commenced. As the copies, however, were full of mistakes, others were to have been produced by the order of the Grand Vizier; but lest the operations should cease, and time be lost by delay, another volume was begun, to wit, "Tohfat 'al Kibar fi asfar 'ilhihar;" that is, "a gift for nobles in maritime voyages," said to have been written by Celebi Hajy Chalifa, a most learned scribe, and a man of great talent, and which was selected from the many works he had written relative to the glory of the kingdom. Although the size is small, it is of the highest use, since to those travelling by

land or water, or engaged in war, it serves as an accurate and faithful guide.

As its impression appeared very useful, and that, like a blooming rose-bud, it would be an acceptable gift to all classes, by the Divine aid two editions were issued from the press. In the meanwhile, a book on the war between the Persians and Afghans, and the cause of the destruction of the empire of the Sufvee kings, was produced; its translation into Latin permitted by high authority; its printing commenced, and, by God's assistance, to whom be praise! finished under the title of "Tareekh Seijah," or, the Chronicles of a Traveller.

Furthermore, we earnestly beg our kind readers to excuse the typographical mistakes, and benevolently pardon all our errors.

THE

CHRONICLES OF A TRAVELLER,

&c.

PREFACE CONCERNING THE MODERN KINGS OF PERSIA, AND THE DURATION OF THEIR REIGNS.

In the year of the Hijra 906, when the Ottoman empire had devolved on Selim, on whom God have mercy, and he ruled over the Arabians, Greeks, and Persians, in that portion of the eastern kingdoms, Azoorbaijan, flourished the founder of the kingdom and modern dynasty of Persia, viz. Ismaël ben Sheikh Haidar, ben Sheikh Guined, ben Sheikh Ibrahim, ben Sheikh Ali, ben Sheikh Musa, ben Suffee-ood-deen Isaac of Ardebil. This prince was desirous of re-establishing the Persian monarchy, so celebrated in the annals of antiquity, to be compared with its ancient kings, Dara and Jum, and to be numbered among the other sovereigns of old times: from him descended the Sufvee dynasty. He waged continual war against Selim, so that it was said, he aspired to the highest

dignity; but being defeated by the Turks, and his fortunes on the decline, he not long after succumbed to the claws of the lion of destiny, and was forced to resign the government to his son Tahmasp. The latter was succeeded by his son Ismael II., after whom consecutively reigned, Khodabund,* Abas the first, Suffee, and Abas II. Abas I., surnamed the Great, ascended the throne A. H. 994, reigned 45 years, and adding various conquests to his empire, confirmed his authority. A. H. 1034, attacking Candahar, he added that frontier of the King of India's country to his realm, and in A. H. 1040, in the month Rubee ool, Akhir expired at Farhabad.† Shah Suffee, his grandson, succeeded him at the age of eighteen, and reigned fourteen years. A. H. 1050 the power of the Persian kingdom was again assailed, for the King of India despatched an army, whose victories deprived the Persians of Candahar, and added it to his dominions. Sultan Moorad, about the same time, attacked Bagdad,‡ and Suffee, diffident of his own powers, preferring

* In the foregoing catalogue, Ameer Hamzah and Ismael III. are not mentioned, as they reigned for so short a period, for the same reason that Lady Jane Grey is not enumerated among the English sovereigns. Ameer Hamzah fell a sacrifice to the ambition of Ismael, who in turn was assassinated at the instigation of Murshed-Kooli-Khan, the tutor of Abas.

† In Mazanderan.

‡ The loss of this important fortress was attributable to the weakness and partiality of the Persian monarch, who, instead of relying on the known experience of Suffee Kooli Khan, the governor, appointed one of his favourites to the command. The high minded khan, unable to brook this affront, administered poison to himself and son.

peace to war, was willing to consult his own safety. However, on the fifth of Shaban, A. H. 1055, he left Ispahan for the purpose of recovering Candahar; when he arrived at the town of Costan, finding the hour of death at hand, he stopped on his march, and on the twelfth of the month Ramzan, departed this life. The young Shah, Abas II., ascending the throne at the age of twelve, governed it for some time. Being firmly established in his authority, he determined to recover Candahar, A. H. 1060. Having raised a numerous and well equipped army, he passed the frontiers, attacked the son of the Great Mogul,* who was also at the head of an imposing force, and after a well contested battle defeated him. Thus he reconquered that province, by the assistance and cöoperation of the Afghans, who rose against the Indians.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE HISTORY OF SHAH ABAS II.

When the Indians wrested Candahar from the Persians in the preceding reign, they also occupied the kingdom of Khorasan. The monarch of that country, who had fled away, hiding himself where he could find security, hearing that the Persians had recovered Candahar, sent an envoy to Abas, with a letter full of submission, beseeching him to deliver his territories from the Indians, or to avenge his cause. The pur-

On this the garrison mutinied against the new commandant, and surrendered the city to Amurath, who put the whole of them to the sword.

* The celebrated Aurangzeb, who commanded for his father Shah Jehan.

port of this letter was as follows: "I, your friend, the legitimate heir of the kingdom of Khorasan, never ill affected towards your royal house, was invaded by a black lion from the eastern climes, who, not content with the injury he had inflicted on you at that period, seized the kingdom handed down to me from my ancestors: can you think a most obsequious respecter of your majesty and the laws of neighbourhood deserves this wrong?" Shah Abas was induced by these and similar arguments, to afford him aid, and promised him his constant friendship for the future. He used this opportunity to such advantage, that having expelled the Indians, he joined this province to his empire, and concluded a treaty with its king, by which it was stipulated that the monarch should be confirmed in his dominions until his death, but that Shah Abas should succeed him. The Persian monarch expired at Hurmabad, on the twenty-fifth of the month Mohurrum, A. H. 1079, after a reign of twenty-five years. Mirza Suffee, his son, therefore, inherited the dominions of Iran or Persia, but being terrified by a dream he changed his name, and desired himself to be called Sooliman, in the hopes of averting the impending calamity. Though this terrible dream was not verified during his reign, still it was fulfilled in that of his son Hoossein.*

* Others attribute the change of his name to another, but equally ridiculous circumstance—to the influence of the stars. After a series of debauchery, he had much impaired his health, and the physicians, unable to restore it, laid all the blame on the astrologers not having chosen a propitious day for his coronation. Suffee consequently had himself re-crowned in the name of Sooliman.

HISTORY OF SHAH SOOLIMAN.

Sooliman had three sons, the youngest of whom was Hoossein. The shah, who was of a deformed figure, prone to anger, unmerciful, morose, difficult to please, and abandoned to the most profligate vices, ordered his eldest son to be put to death, because he had displeased him by rashly censuring his conduct; thus laying aside all paternal feeling, and rejecting the intercessions universally made in his behalf. Another son, struck with fear, fled, and did not appear in his irritable father's presence for a long time. The shah at length repenting of his cruelty, and wishing to see his second son, sent for him; but he, fearing the fate of his brother, and keeping in mind the proverb:—"Happy is he who can take warning by another's misfortunes," refused to appear, though at the same time he wished to move his father to repentance for the murder of his brother, and awaken a kindly feeling towards himself. For this purpose, feigning madness, he entered a private garden in which the shah took great delight, stocking it with the choicest trees, amongst which the cypress was conspicuous, and began to cut them with an axe. But though he purposed to excite the compassion of his father, the result was different to that hope, for the irritable and morose monarch, not allowing his natural pity to be excited, nor considering anything but the indulgence of his innate ferocity, till his anger was so inflamed, that he summoned the K'hasgee Padshah,* and ordered him to kill his son.

* The commander of the Gholam-i-K'has or household troops.

That officer, being a most prudent and merciful man, disgusted at the inhuman mandate, thinking it unjust to imbrue his hands in the young man's blood, and petrified at the order, endeavoured to mollify the shah's anger. To extinguish the flame of his indignation, therefore, he thus addressed the implacable monarch: "Oh, most merciful King! I, the meanest and most faithful of your slaves, made to participate in your bounty, carry the sword with which I am girded, for the destruction of your enemies, the effusion of their blood, and the vindication of your fame among your foes; but I am unwilling to betray the most noble family by which I am so favoured; to slay the most delectable children of my Lord; to draw down the perpetual maledictions of all men. God avert this from me! When your most faithful servant refuses to commit such a horrible deed, it is better, instead of your innocent son, to slay many like myself, and it is easy for you to do so; but I know you are graciously disposed towards me. When your subjects hear of this cruel mandate, and it shall be bruited everywhere abroad, the love they bear towards yourself and us will be turned into hatred, and all men will abhor your court." Being influenced by these reasonings and entreaties, the shah at length consented to revoke the order, and thus addressed the K'hasgee Padshah: "My anger is now appeased. I repent of my deed, and I much approve your endeavour to pacify my wrath, and the good feeling manifested towards my family, which noble act raises you far above your

fellows. Reveal my unseemly design, therefore, to nobody; but concealing it most scrupulously, consign it to oblivion, and beware lest my son should know any thing about it." This servant, though faithful, and jealous of the reputation of the kingdom, would have revealed the secret to no one else: to the son, however, as he felt assured of his prudence, he thought he might venture to tell it, and therefore informed him, advising him in a friendly manner to avoid doing any thing displeasing to his father, but always to accommodate himself to his will. Afterwards forgetting that prudence is generally wanting to women, and not heeding the salutary adage, "that what is known to more than two, is known to all," he thought fit to divulge it secretly to the mother of the princes, and begged her to exhort her son to reverence his father, to follow wisdom for her sake, and prayed her not to reveal it to any one else.

HISTORY OF THE MOTHER OF THE PRINCES ROYAL.

When the mother of the princes heard what had happened, she was completely thunderstruck, and did not omit to inculcate silence and prudent habits unto her son. However, on account of the weak and timid disposition of woman, she daily grew more solicitous about the shah's irritability, and greatly despaired of her son's security; she therefore one day secretly called him, and, agitated by the impulse of maternal affection, thus addressed him:—

"Oh! my dearest son, the most pleasing to my

sight, you know what has befallen your innocent brother, and how long the violent temper of the king continues, and that he may order you to be put to death on the slightest provocation. Now, it is mere madness to trust to his repentance, or to depend on his paternal love; we are not safe from the effusion of our blood by his sword. I therefore advise you to change your name, and assume a religious garb; to go away and appear no more in this country; depart unto another land; and remain for some time unknown."

The son gave ear to the solicitations of his afflicted parent, and assuming the habiliments of a dervish, fled from the palace, and was no more seen in Persia.

The shah, hearing of this ignominious deed, sent letters and emissaries to the boundaries of his dominions, desiring that the prince be sought in all the adjacent countries, and brought back; but their endeavours were in vain, for they gained no trace of him, not even of his name. The shah, losing all shame and sorrow, conceiving that no one but the K'hasgee Padshah was aware of his infamous intention of putting his son to death, and could be privy to his escape, believed him to be the cause of this event. He therefore ordered him to be put to death, and his head to be struck off in the hall of the palace. The news of this being reported abroad, the mother, fearing the shah would cast the blame on her, threw herself from the top of the palace. The rumour of this greatly increasing the shah's grief, inflicted a hundred wounds in his heart, nor was he scarcely able to bear the murmurs

of the populace. Having thus lost two of his sons, his paternal feelings were strongly awakened within him, and he became attached to his younger son, Mirza Hoossein, whom he compelled to reside in the royal palace with his grandmother and himself, and caused him to be instructed in every science. The young prince was of disagreeable features, short of stature, and lame; yet on account of the quickness of his apprehension, daily grew in his father's esteem; never being out of the shah's sight, he endeavoured to please him in every thing, and thus gained his favour. He applied with such diligence to his studies, and was so worthy of the care bestowed on him by his preceptors, that in a short time he arrived at the height of virtue and knowledge. Nor was he beloved by his father alone, but won the esteem of the whole court, so that even during the lifetime of Sooliman he was appointed regent and successor.

HISTORY OF MIRZA ABAS.

Besides these sons, Shah Sooliman had another named Abas Mirza, who, in the asperity of his temper and habits, was like the father, yet brave and active. He was an adept in horsemanship, in hurling the lance, in firing the matchlock, as well as in the use of all other weapons. In these sports he spent the greater portion of this time, but he had no knowledge of the sciences, and was ignorant of all erudition.

DEATH OF SOOLIMAN.

HAVING now ruled for some years over Persia, and being confined by illness to his bed, Sooliman, despairing of his recovery, summoned his ministers, and reminded them of the abilities and mildness of Hoossein, the ignorance and warlike propensities of Mirza Abas, and left his crown to the former. Immediately on the shah's death, the grandmother, according to report, left not a stone unturned in order that Hoossein might ascend the throne by the vote of the Kislar Agha and the other nobles. She won them over partly by confirming them in their old appointments, by conferring greater on others, and some by promises of money. At the same time she endeavoured to detach them from the cause of Mirza Abas, and to inflame their minds against him, stating, maliciously, that if he gained the kingdom, his rough habits and temper would destroy the peace of the empire, and that they would lose all hope of future reward. The ministers being themselves averse to war, and immersed in pleasure, most willingly called Hoossein to the throne, and cast Mirza Abas into prison.*

THE HISTORY OF SHAH HOOSSEIN.

Thus Hoossein, mild, even-tempered, benign, and

* The officers being mostly eunuchs, who during the preceding reign had acquired too great a supremacy in the state, were more inclined to elect Hoossein, as Abas, they foresaw, would have deprived them of their power, since he always professed the greatest contempt of that degraded class.

learned, was elected to the empire, and walking in the paths of virtue and abstinence, committed none of the forbidden deeds. But after some time the kingdom became in a languishing condition; its bonds being broken by internal dissensions, it began to verge on ruin. The subjects did not follow the example of their sovereign, and inflicted an irremediable wound on the prosperity of the empire. The monarch himself at last, deviating from the path of rectitude, conformed to the habits of his people, and thus the king with his subjects, from the highest to the meanest among them, indulged in every species of voluptuousness, and relinquished all thought of public affairs; nor was any one found to rouse the shah from the sleep of negligence.

The author of this Chronicle thus enumerates, from the Persian annals, the catalogue of the kings, and the period of their reigns; but the original translator having carefully examined the Turkish annals, found a difference in some of the dates, which might have arisen from the fault of the Persian authors, and enumerates them in the following manner.*

* The following catalogue is from Prinsep's Genealogical Tables, No. LXXI.

A.H. 905.	A.D. 1491,	Ismaïl al-Sufi ben Sheik Heidar.
932.	1525,	Tahmâsp ben Ismaïl
983.	1575,	Ismaïl II. ben Tahmasp.
985.	1577,	Muhammed Khodabandah ben Tahmasp.
994.	1585,	Hamzah ben Muhammed or Amir Hams.
994.	1585,	Shah Ismaïl III. ben Muhammed.
994.	1585,	Shah Abas ben Muhammed.
1039.	1629,	Shah Safi ben Safi Mirza ben Abbas.

These then were the kings of the Sufvee dynasty. Shah Ismael ben Sheikh Heidur, A. H. 906, at the age of fourteen assumed the royal diadem, and, after a reign of twenty-four years, died at the age of thirty-eight. The second of the Sufvee kings, Tahmasp ben Ismael, was invested with the royal dignity at the age of ten years and six months, A. H. 930, and, after reigning fifty-four years, was taken off by poison, administered by his youngest son Mirza Haidur, and his mother, when aged sixty-three years and six months. During the reign of Amurath III. Tokmak Khan, the padshah of Erivan and Nachgiwan, sent an envoy to Tahmasp, with congratulatory letters and presents, in the beginning A. H. 974 (A. D. 1556), who was admitted to an audience. The third king was Ismael II. ben Tahmasp; he ascended the throne A. H. 984, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, reigned one year and seven months, and died aged thirty-nine years and two months. The fourth monarch was Shah Mahomed Khodabund, who assumed the royal insignia A. H. 985, and expired after reigning eleven years. The fifth was Abas I. ben Khodabund A. H. 995; he was eighteen years old when he began to reign, and died at the age of sixty, after reigning forty-two years. The sixth, Mirza Suffee ben Suffee ben Abas, received the empire in his eighteenth year, and departed this life, aged thirty-two,

A. H. 1052. A. D. 1642, Shah Abbas II. ben Shah Safi.
1077. 1666, Shah Soleiman ben Shah Abbas.
1106. 1694, Shah Hussein ben Shah Soleiman.

after a reign of fourteen years. Abas II. ben Suffee ascended the throne A.H. 1052, in the twelfth year of his age, governed the empire for twenty-four years, and paid the debt of nature, having lived thirty-seven years. Sooliman ben Abas II., originally named Suffee, the eighth Sufvee monarch, assumed the reins of government at the age of twenty, A.H. 1077, and died in the forty-eighth year of his age, and twenty-eighth of his reign. The ninth and last sovereign of this dynasty, Hoossein ben Sooliman, A.H. 1105,* was raised to the kingdom when twenty-five years old, and after a reign of twenty-nine, resigned his crown and sceptre to Mahmood.† Thus, from Ismael the founder of the empire of the Sufvees, to the last monarch, Hoossein, the kingdom lasted for two hundred and twenty-eight years, according to the records, under nine reigns.

CONSIDERATION OF THE CAUSE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

Although the origin of the duration and dissolution of kingdoms, and the term of life and death of every individual, whether lasting or merely transitory, depends on the eternal providence of God, yet wise men conceive that in the establishment or destruction of commonwealths, prudence or imprudence are the cause

* I have taken the liberty of altering this date from A.H. 1103, as it stands in the original, in order to make it agree with the length of Sooliman's reign as given above.

† A.D. 1722. A.H. 1134.

and foundation of events. In this way they account for the overthrow of the Persian empire. It is therefore to be observed in the first place, that from Ismael the founder of the monarchy, to Hoossein, sixteen provinces were reduced under their sway, viz. Irak Ajum, Khusistan, Loristan, Fars, Kerman, Mikran, Seestan, Candahar, Zablistan, Khorasan, Mazenderan, Geelan, Azoorbaijan, Rivan, Sheerwan, Daghestan, and Georgistan; and in the age of Ismael, from the time when the empire founded by Teimoor ceased, to that when the Sufvees annexed these provinces to their dominions, they were each held by either one, two, or three independent sovereigns. The Persians, who were then united among themselves, easily conquered them all, owing to their perpetual quarrels and dissensions. Widely extending their boundaries, the victors slew twenty-eight Soonnee kings and their families, in those sixteen countries; and it is surprising, that as there were so many potentates of that sect, viz. the Soonnees, they should suffer their wealth and kingdoms to be wrested from them by the heretical Persians, and did not unite in their endeavours, and bravely attack their foes. It is more surprising that the Persians, in the countries occupied by them, should allow the children of the lawful princes to inherit the father's dignity, and the princely power to become hereditary in those families. Thus in a manner independent, and not fearing a remote power, they exercised as it were unlimited royal authority, neither affording help in time of necessity, remitting the

proper tribute, nor yielding obedience to the Shah's mandates, unless it suited their own interests.

In the second place, when the subjects were for the most part undisciplined, and incapable of resisting any more powerful foe, the Persian kings neglected for a long time a thing of the greatest importance—the acquisition of military stores, and organization of their troops. Thirdly, the Shahs, until the reign of Abas, reserved full power to themselves in all public affairs, whereas the succeeding monarchs committing them solely to their ministers, afforded an opportunity of effecting their own ruin. Fourthly, from the time of Abas the Great every one was permitted the promiscuous use of wine, so that the affairs of the kingdom were neglected for continual drinking parties. Shah Hoossein at length, influenced by singular piety, set about remedying this evil, and threatened those who should bring wine to Isfahan or Julfa with the severest punishments, Christian ambassadors excepted: in consequence not a drop of wine was to be found any where, and even must was prohibited. The people accustomed to it not being able to abstain, unanimously resolved to demand permission for the use of it again from the Shah. The king's grandmother at length falling ill, the physicians declared she would never recover her health without wine; not being able to procure any in Isfahan or Julfa, they sent to the Christian ambassadors', and after having drank a couple of glasses she visibly amended. The Shah, taught by this, revoked, with the consent of his minis-

ters, the prohibition against wine, and made more merry by a couple of flasks, he next day drank till he was inebriated; and so captivated was he with its sweetness, that ordering singers and musicians to be brought before him, he gave himself up completely to pleasure, and relinquished the entire management of the state into the hands of his ministers; thus placing too much confidence in them. They, holding the reins of government, followed their own inclinations; there was no difference between the deceiver and the deceived; the just and the unjust; the oppressor and the oppressed. Every violence was practised, which by degrees brought the kingdom to ruin. It is said, Hoossein, during the whole of his reign, never put on a red garment, in which he was imitated by his courtiers. They rejected the purple girdle, and only used it when capital punishment was to be inflicted on any criminal. Hoossein had such an aversion to the effusion of blood, that having one day shot some birds in his garden, he distributed two hundred tomans in alms, to expiate his crime, and to show his regret for the deed. He was charitable to the poor, mild, affable, and clement; but he was neglectful of the Arab proverb, "that the sword and clemency are twins;" and it was owing to this that the public affairs took an unfavourable turn during his reign. Fifthly, the laws and precepts of the Mahomedan religion, on which

* Hanway values the toman at ten mildanars, each worth five shillings; and in all cases where Persian money is reduced to English, I have followed this rule.

the felicity of an empire depends, were not properly observed, for Shah Abas I. forbidding his subjects to make pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina, lest they should carry the money out of the realm, commanded them to visit other shrines.* The pious pilgrims, therefore, partly leaving the country secretly, others obtaining a licence from the padshahs by means of large bribes, prayed most earnestly for the subversion of the empire, that they might be more at liberty to make their pilgrimages, attributing the interdict to the avarice of the monarch. The sixth reason of the decay of this unhappy country was, the nobles were divided into two factions, and continually thwarting each other in public affairs, did not a little contribute to its ruin; nay, it was one of the principal causes, that one party rejecting what the other proposed, precipitated it so easily to its catastrophe.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE AFGHANS.†

The origin of this nation is involved in great obscurity; and it is unknown whether they originated in the province of Sheerwan, which is situated on the Caspian sea, on the verge of Daghestan, or in the plains bordering on that province, beyond the

* Musjid Imâm Reza, in Khorasan; Musjid Ali and Musjid Hoossein (Kerbela) in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, then in the dominions of the Shah.

† I would refer the reader for a more elaborate research into the disputed origin of this nation, to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone's Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, vol. i. pp. 201-209; and to the authorities cited by him.

Bab-al-abwab,* or were the ancient "Caspii," or a branch descended from that nation. However, making continual predatory incursions on the Persian and other adjacent countries, Teimoor, having conquered, removed them to a more distant country, between India and Persia, so that they might be at the same time secure from all invasions, and equally incapable of inflicting injury on others. Some historians consider this nation to have sprung out of Armenia, since the province of Sheerwan was originally called Albania, and when its inhabitants were styled Albani; and if this were the case, it is very probable Albanians were erroneously called Afghans.

The Armenian monasteries, moreover, on the confines of Scheerwan and Karabagh, are called Kendsar, the superintendants of the roads, Aghwanitsch, which in the Armenian language signifies a leader of the Afghans; and in the padshahliks of Kiunge, Rivan, and Nachgivan, on the frontiers of Geelan, the resident Armenians, who take great pride in the names, call themselves Aghwanlik. It is probable that when they inhabited Kendahar, the word Candahar was corrupted in process of time from Kendsar, which by some authors is considered as the castle erected by Alexander the Great. Whilst the Afghans resided among the Ar-

*Bab-al-abwab, "Portæ Caspiæ," a mountain pass between Derbend and the Caspian sea, forty miles from Tehran. According to ancient geographers there was an artificial road through this, twenty-eight Roman miles in length, admitting a single chariot to pass, having cliffs darkened on either side by salt water that trickled down them, and infested in summer time with serpents.—*Wright's Gazetteer.*

menians, they indubitably followed the religion and customs of that people; but when far away from their native soil, and they had mingled with the Indians, they by degrees embraced the Mahomedan faith; and even at the present day, in baking they mark their bread with the sign of the cross, which they retain from their Armenian customs. From the dispositions and habits of their ancestors they delight in plundering, and are accustomed to war from their proximity to India.

DESCRIPTION OF THE AFGHAN MODE OF WARFARE.

The martial habits of the Afghans consist in there being many leaders of superior and inferior ranks; their forces, whenever ordered, are quickly reduced into order. Thus accustomed to war with those who are practised in a roving warfare like their own, they are most skilled in this mode, and give their officers but little trouble. At the commencement of a battle all the leaders are placed in the front of the army; these make the attack on the enemy. These chiefs, in their language called Nassukgee and Peihlvan when the battle rages withdraw from the troops to the rear of the army, and place themselves in the rear, and press it onwards as if they were inspectors of the engagement, kill those who attempt to retreat. This death is called Hudd.* Thus during the siege of Ispahan, of which I was a witness, in the battle between the Afghans and Per-

* A stated penalty by the Mahomedan law.

sians, near the bridge Abasabad, they would have killed a soldier who was retiring, after his right arm had been struck off, and ordering him to tear the enemy with his teeth if he lost his left, rather than fly, inflamed him afresh for the battle with the desire of fame, and of acquiring a great booty for himself. It is also an established custom among them, those who fall in battle are buried on the spot where they died, while those who turned their backs on the foe, are left unburied, as a warning to others. They are extremely dexterous in the use of the sword and spear; they are also expert horsemen, picking up while at full speed anything that may have fallen to the ground, as well as being good marksmen. When they arrived before Isfahan they were almost naked; but with their increasing wealth, they provided themselves more liberally with clothes and weapons; and as they became habituated to war, they by degrees acquired the art more fully, so that now they attack the enemy with the right or left wing, and then with the centre. They were, however, ignorant of the science of reducing fortified places, and it was for this reason that Isfahan resisted them so long. The capital being better supplied with water than most other towns in the province, they could hardly make themselves masters of it, but the rest they easily took by cutting off the water courses. They are so much under the control of their leaders, that no royal army was to be compared to them; and it was often remarked, that whether they were wandering about on their own private affairs, or

taking their meals, they would instantly assemble on the orders being issued, and every man would be found at his post. The most admirable of all their customs was, that whatever citadel, town, or country they took sword in hand, the inhabitants might carry their jewels or money in their hands, or upon their heads, nor would they suffer anything of the slightest value to be forcibly taken away from them. Thus, while the Afghan army were in a tumult occasioned by Ashruf supplanting Mahmood, the inhabitants of Isfahan, apprehensive of being plundered, shut up their shops, which being carried to the ears of Ashruf, he proclaimed that if they opened them without delay, and continued their business, they should not suffer in the smallest article.

The Afghans are averse to the sale of their captives, and after assigning them for some time to their own service, they give them their liberty, and are wont to adopt the children of the slain. Adultery and the unnatural offence are uncommon among them, but when committed are severely punished. Their camps and habitations are badly arranged, one common apartment serving for them and their cattle. If any animal be found dead within their encampment, they do not remove the nuisance. Contented with but little, they acknowledge no difference of taste; wheat parched in a pan sufficed them in all their marches, their Prince Mahmood not excepted; and, like rude men, care not for luxurious feasts. When they took the town of Julfa, some imagined soap to be either cheese or sugar;

they wash their linen in muddy, dirty water. They, like brute beasts, devoured many plants, especially pot-herbs. In a journey they bound intestines, filled with water, round their loins, for use in time of need. It is reported that an Afghan, on the capture of Julfa, entered the house of an Armenian, who, out of respect, brought him out a large jar of fresh-preserved cloves, and having given him a spoon, he eat off the whole contents without injury to himself. They eat wherever they be, without any ceremony, seated on the ground, without table or cloth, placing their meat, cheese, or other provisions on their bread, and drink nothing but water. Their costume is very different to that of other nations, particularly their long upper garments, which are of an extraordinary shape, and resemble the proboscis of an elephant. They wear coarsely woven socks, but leave their legs uncovered. Before mounting on horseback, they bind some piece of leather round their feet; men of all ranks throw a cloak over their shoulders, to defend them and their accoutrements from the sun and rain. They wind round their heads pieces of white, red, and green cotton, joined together, raising them up in a peak in front, but letting them hang down behind as far as the loins. Since the conquest of Persia, they have assumed the turban of that country, and adopted gold-embroidered robes, which reach as far as their knees, but have not abandoned the use of their sock; and wherever they be, seat themselves on the ground, without sweeping away the dust. The women go about with their faces unco-

vered, wearing no veil; of which in fact they have no need, as beauty is very rare among them, they being in general an ugly race. In their ears, as well as on the necks of their horses, they place crystal ornaments, and fasten the girdle of their dress immediately over the chest, below the breasts, and thus leave them uncovered. The hair is braided round the head, adorned with horse-tails. They wear the Persian slipper, but in a dirty place carry them in their hands, and walk bare-footed; and if interrogated as to their reasons for this conduct, they answer that it is easy to wash the feet, but spoiled sandals must be replaced with new.

THE ROUTES AND DISTANCE FROM ISFAHAN TO THE CITY OF CANDAHAR.

Isfahan, the capital of Persia, is situated to the west of the kingdom, in the centre of the province Irak Ajum, in long. 78° E.; and Candahar, the capital of the Afghans, lies to the east of Persia, on the frontiers of India, in long. 100°;* thus these two towns are separated twenty-two degrees. A caravan might traverse this distance in a straight line in sixty-six days,

* These positions must have been computed from the longitude of Ferro; but both cities are placed too much to the east. Candahar in particular is liable to an error of more than 7°, according to the map appended to Elphinstone's "Caubul," which is no mean authority. The following are the situations, as given in Wright's Gazetteer:—Isfahan, 51° 30′ E. of Greenwich; Candahar, 65° 32′; difference, 14° 2′. In the above mentioned document, however, Candahar is placed in long. 66° 27′; difference, 14° 57′.

a horse in twenty-four, and a public courier in twenty-two; but as the geographical admeasurement of a road is formed on the supposition of a plane, which in that long distance it would be impossible to find, on account of the windings and turnings, the ascents and descents occasioned by the mountains and vallies, it is necessary to describe the present routes. At this day, therefore, there are two ways of travelling from Candahar to Isfahan; the one through a cultivated country, the other through a desert, infected by a noxious wind. A caravan performs the journey by the fertile road in ninety days; a person not travelling by night, but using swift horses, performs it in fifty; but the journey through the desert requires sixty days, and this is only a winter road, for in summer neither the armies or caravans use it. Travellers often halt in the fertile road to water on the banks of the river Seestan, and then diverge into the desert of Candahar. These are known and common roads; but when the Shah was at Casween or Tehran, the army despatched to Candahar took the route of Mushed and Herat, which is the most cultivated of all.

DESCRIPTION OF CANDAHAR.

The city of Candahar has the form of the other towns situate in Rumelia, and is, therefore, said to have been erected by Alexander the Great;* it was

* The form is of an oblong square; and the ancient city stood till the reign of Shah Hoossein, who founded a new town. Nadir followed his example; and lastly, Ahmed Shah founded the present city. The

afterwards occupied by the Kings of India, and repaired by European engineers, for as it lies on the frontiers of the kingdom, it became absolutely necessary to fortify it.

REASONS FOR THE OCCUPATION OF CANDAHAR BY THE PERSIANS.

At the time the Afghans were subjugated by Teimoor, and removed from the province of Sheerwan to the vicinity of India, they resided for some time in those regions, wandering over the mountains and plains; afterwards, when increased in numbers, they divided into different tribes and communities, some residing in the towns and some in the country. Commerce with India having sprung up, and, after a while, being subjugated to the king of that country, they embraced the Mahomedan religion, and in a manner were made guardians of the frontier. Having at length an opportunity given them, they laid claim to the town of Candahar, and harassing Persia, after the manner of their forefathers, remained in that state till Shah Abas ascended the throne, and set about putting an end to their vexatious aggressions. Having tried in vain to accomplish this by treaty, and a feud arising between the Persians and the Indians, the flames of war broke out, and Shah Abas, favoured

old one was the Alexandria in Paropamiso, and hence the name Candahar may be traced in the Oriental name of that great conqueror; thus Sekunderia, Kunderia, Candahur; if this is really the case, it fixes with accuracy the contested situation of that city.

by fortune, defeated the Indian forces; and on this occasion the town of Candahar, with the adjacent territories, and Afghan inhabitants, were subjugated to the victor, A.H. 1030. The Afghans, not agreeing among themselves, though Candahar would have been left under their own control, Persian governors were deputed, to prevent, by prudent measures, any breach of the newly concluded peace with India. It is worthy of notice that the Huzarah tribes of Afghans, who were divided into different communities, residing on the borders of Uzbeg and Candahar, differed in religion from the other Afghans, who were Soonnees, whilst they belonged to the Sheeahs, and professed the creed of the Persians. These never revolted from the government of the Shahs, and submitted neither through compulsion or choice to the Indians, or any other nation, until Mahmood, ascending the throne, harassed them in various invasions, which they were unable to repel; and after imploring succour from their king, which they looked for a long time in vain, they were at last compelled, by necessity, to adhere to Mahmood, and participated in all his wars.

REBELLION OF GEORGIS KHAN,* PRINCE OF GEORGIA, AND HIS FLIGHT.

A.H. 1114, Georgis Khan, the governor of Georgia, appointed by the Persian Court, endeavoured to throw off his allegiance, and made the requisite preparations

* This prince is called Gunghis by Hanway, and Bagrathion by others.

for the attainment of his end; all which was reported by the spies of the government. Emissaries were secretly despatched to quell the flame of rebellion, and nip it by every means in the bud, who with combined threats and promises won over the Georgian princes to the royal party. Georgis Khan, conceiving the time for action had arrived, threw off the mask, and no longer paid obedience to the Shah's orders. Kelb Ally Khan was therefore sent to chastise his insolence; who marching against him, was joined by those members of the dynasty who were averse to the insurrection; the rest of the army, seeing this, deserted over to him; and Georgis Khan, thus conquered, was obliged to flee. Kelb Ally Khan, losing no time, prevailed on the Georgian princes to receive him into the city of Teflis, which the unresisting inhabitants surrendered to him.

THE ARRIVAL OF GEORGIS KHAN AT ISFAHAN, AND HIS PARDON BY THE SHAH.

Thus deserted by his army, Georgis Khan, lurking in the mountains, and repenting of his rashness, excused himself to his brother, the Divan Beg.* Seeing no other means of safety, he went to Isfahan; arriving there he cast himself on his knees before the Shah, with his sword suspended from his neck, and implored pardon for his crimes, saying—"If you think fit, cut off my head with my own sword, or else spare and pardon your delinquent slave." At these words the

* Chief judge in criminal cases.

Divan Beg, and the rest of the court, who were favourably disposed toward him, besought the monarch to forgive his faults; which being granted, they all raised their voices in praising that clemency which is so honourable to sovereigns, and that mildness which is so much more excellent than anger; raised a general acclamation of thankfulness.

THE ARRIVAL OF AN INDIAN AMBASSADOR TO DEMAND RESTITUTION OF CANDAHAR.

Whilst the events that had befallen Georgis Khan were in every one's mouth, the King of India, burning with anxiety to recover Candahar, sent an ambassador, who was brought to the Shah by the officer commanding on the frontier. The Shah, astonished at this proceeding, summoned his ministers, and consulted with them on the propriety of immediately dismissing the ambassador with a direct refusal, or deferring an answer for some time, treating him in the interval with every respect. Though divided on this subject, they all agreed in supplying the fortress with the necessary ammunition. The envoy being put off from day to day, after a prolonged detention in the city, was at length sent back with letters of refusal to his sovereign, who was informed that he might take whatever steps he deemed proper. They all concurring in this opinion, put an end to the conference, and considered it of the highest importance that the newly appointed Commander of the forces should immediately set out for Candahar; and in these straitened

times the events we have narrated befel Georgis Khan.

DETERMINATION OF THE SHAH AND HIS MINISTERS TO SEND GEORGIS KHAN AT THE HEAD OF AN ARMY TO CANDAHAR, AND REJECTION OF THE DEMANDS OF THE KING OF INDIA.

Georgis Khan being reconfirmed in the government of Georgia, was appointed to the government of Candahar, which the quick-sighted sons of the Shah much approved, as the army being withdrawn from Georgia, would afford them greater security; and they hoped that the Khan, remembering the King's clemency, would in future prove a faithful servant. The King of India hearing that this able officer had been despatched at the head of a brave and numerous army, desisted from his demands, and urged the restitution of Candahar no longer. Georgis Khan preparing to assume the command, left his brother, Khoosrow Khan, in the government of Georgia, and arriving at Candahar, strengthened it, and not only coerced the Afghans with severe discipline, but in removing whatever was pernicious, and repressing the incursions of their neighbours, took from them the power of injuring. This he did that the Shah might be convinced more and more of his loyalty, and the services he had rendered him. It was at this period that Meer Veis, Kalemdar, or collector of the royal tribute from the Afghans, first rose into notice.

HISTORY OF MEER VEIS.

Meer Veis was a man of great importance among the Afghans; every body treated him with the highest respect. He had gained the esteem of the nation; and possessed of great wealth, carried on a commerce with India through the medium of the caravans. Georgis Khan, envious of his magnificence, endeavoured to oppress him, and appropriate his wealth to his own use; he therefore sent for him, and addressing him in kind terms, sought to gain his confidence, and lull him into a feeling of security. He informed him that he had occasion to send him to Isfahan with despatches of importance, being aware of his prudence; and prevailed on him, by various persuasions, to set off.

THE ARRIVAL OF MEER VEIS AT ISFAHAN, AND THE REST OF HIS PROCEEDINGS WITH THE SHAH AND THE MINISTERS.

Influenced by the Khan's persuasions, Meer Veis left Candahar with the letters given him, in which he was accused to the Shah as a rebellious subject, in order that he might be cast into prison, and never permitted to return. Consequently, when he arrived at Isfahan, he was immediately placed under the surveillance of a guard, and remained for several days in this condition, sad and anxious. Hearing that the court was divided in opinion on his case, he took courage, and obtained permission to go about the

city, and address the Etimad Dowlet, the Divan Beg, and the rest of the ministers. He hastened to prostrate himself at the feet of the Etimad Dowlet, and offered him several valuable presents from India. He then visited the rest of the court, making them gifts suitable to their rank; and on the following day, going to the Divan Beg, loaded him and his deputies with largesses. Hearing there would be an important meeting at the residence of the latter functionary, he ventured to present himself there, and at the conclusion of the council, being interrogated by the judge as to the state of his brother, he answered in a humble and flattering manner, praising Georgis Khan, passing encomiums on his bravery, prudence, and benignity towards his people, and loyalty to his sovereign. He added that it was true that when the Mogul heard that the Khan had been appointed to the government of Candahar, he desisted from his demands on that province, and affirmed it flourished beyond all expectations, through the Khan's care. The Divan Beg, unable to restrain himself at this speech, called his brother foolish for not knowing his true friend, and unjustly accusing him, because he could not gain possession of a hundred thousand tomans; and next day, when writing to him on the subject, reproached him for his conduct. Some time after, hearing there would be a council at the Etimad Dowlet's house, Meer Veis appeared there apparently as a visitor, and having kissed the hands and robes of all present, stood before them. In a short time the Prime Minister told him

that despatches relating to him had been received from the governor of Candahar, and as he was most able to give information, desired him to explain them. Now, knowing the cabinet was split into two factions, opposed to one another, he hesitated to answer; but the Etimad Dowlet, insisting on having a reply, he did not shrink from taking his revenge, and expatiated on the licentious habits of Georgis Khan, saying "if he ruled Candahar any longer he would expose it to the direst calamities, for he did not restrain his troops within the bounds of modesty. Whoever chose molested the Shah's subjects with impunity, and seized their wealth; that Georgis Khan took their children away in troops to Georgia, and sold them; that he intended to rebel, and when he had collected a large army, and sufficient treasure, would not hesitate to enter into a league with the King of India. The most puissant Shah was not in want of able ministers of the same religion as himself, but this infamous and heretical prince oppressed the followers of the Mahomedan faith; and furthermore, it was clearer than the noon-day sun, that this base vile man would throw the province into disorder and cause great trouble." The Divan Beg's party took umbrage at this; but the Etimad Dowlet and the rest, highly pleased at it, assured him that they would protect him against the other faction, and look after his safety. Trusting to this, he presented a petition to the Shah, praying permission to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Meer Veis steered with such prudence between both parties that

he gained the esteem and favour of all; so they not only deprecated the Shah for him, but wrote to Georgis Khan, reprimanding him for his unjust conduct, and the monarch, trusting to their representations, pardoned him. When Meer Veis heard this, he was at times highly pleased, but at others was not free from suspicions and uneasiness, as he was aware of the dissensions of the Court.

OF THE PILGRIMAGE OF MEER VEIS, AND HIS PETITION TO THE SHAH, ASSIGNING HIS REASONS FOR IT.

In his petition for licence to make a pilgrimage, he stated his reason, and the intent of it. "I," he said, "am sick of the vanities of the world, and am desirous of visiting those blessed cities, Mecca and Medina, wishing to reside in them, as the most splendid courts of God, and to pass my days and nights in the exercises of devotion; but if so thou ordainest, and hast need of thy poor slave, I will return hither, and bring my whole family to reside in Isfahan: yea, if thou shouldest wish it, call my whole tribe into the neighbourhood of the capital." When the monarch understood the object of this petition, he granted him permission to set off, and ordered no one to detain him from his sacred purpose. Meer Veis depending on this, forthwith departed with his companions, and reaching Mecca, visited the holy and learned men there, and gave them the presents he had brought from Persia. He next proceeded to Medina, and having seen its sacred places, sought the doctors and

pious men. After giving them also presents, he returned to Mecca, where he associated with, and gained the affections of many of the Ulemas.

THE QUESTIONS PUT BY MEER VEIS TO THE ULEMAS OF THE HIJAZ.

Courting the society of men remarkable for their superior abilities, he revealed to them the hidden thoughts of his heart; and having confidence in them, proposed various written questions for their consideration. "We reside," said he, "on the confines of the Kingdoms of India, on the eastern frontiers of Persia, believe in the Mahomedan religion, and are divided into several tribes, but were conquered some time past by the heretical Persians, and subjugated to their empire. We are oppressed with many intolerable grievances; and at present Georgis Khan, a heretical prince, is delegated over us, with the title of Governor, who, against the laws and precepts of justice, seizes us and our families, sends us into Georgia for slaves, and forces our wives into a compulsatory union with heretics. Now, therefore, is it lawful to unsheath the sword against them in the zeal of Religion? Again; if we wage war against them, and by God's help are conquerors, does the law permit us to seize their property? Is it right to betray our province to our neighbour, the king of India, who is of the same persuasion as ourselves? I beseech you to answer these queries, and to give me your opinion upon them." The Ulemas replied to each of these questions in the

affirmative, and Meer Veis, assured of their skill in the law, returned to Isfahan. But it is to be remarked that, from the times of the ancient kings of Persia to that of Abas the Great, yearly pilgrimages were made by the Persians, which brought great wealth to the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina. Abas, however, prohibited them, fearful it would lead to the exportation of the coinage. So the people were dissuaded from these distant and sacred journeys, and commanded to visit the shrines of Imâm Riza, in the province of Khorasan, and Musjid Ally and Hoossein, in the neighbourhood of Bagdad. It is for this reason that many in the present day will not perform pilgrimages. Yet it is impossible to abolish the custom completely; since some still persist in incurring those expenses which allied the inhabitants of Mecca to the Kings of Persia.

RETURN OF MEER VEIS TO ISFAHAN, FROM HIS PILGRIMAGE.

Meer Veis returned to Isfahan, bringing with him from Mecca the precious and odoriferous amber and aloes, giving them away to those he visited, to gain their esteem. He acquired the good will of those about the court in this way; and they all recommended him to the Shah, as a wise and prudent man; and he being favoured, was by express order admitted to a participation in the government.

ARRIVAL OF THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF ISFAHAN.

At that period an ambassador from the Emperor of Russia arrived on the frontiers of Persia, the news of which coming to the ears of the ministers, they dispatched a messenger to learn whom he might be, his name and nation. He replied he was an Armenian by birth, Israël Ori by name, a native of Kapan. When they heard he was an Armenian, they were much concerned, and declared it impossible that he could be admitted to the presence of the Shah, being one of his own subjects, and unentitled to the honours due to an ambassador; therefore it was necessary to learn if any one else, of Russian origin, had been accredited. They consequently referred it to M. Michael, who was then residing in the city as French ambassador, and requested him to certify them as to his nation, and whether there was any affinity between Ori and the Russian monarch. To this the French minister replied, that he was indeed an Armenian who had formerly supplied the French army with coffee, then enlisted as a soldier, and after being present at several engagements, had risen to the rank of a subaltern. Going subsequently into Germany, he had served the Emperor Leopold as interpreter; and afterwards entering the Russian service, had been promoted to a captaincy. That on the recommendation of the German Prince to the Czar of Russia, he had been sent by him as ambassador into Persia; and though an Armenian

subject of theirs, of mean extraction, he ought to be admitted to an audience. The French ambassador had a dislike to this Israël Ori, as he had gained his diplomatic rank through the mediation of Leopold, with whom the French were then at war; and whatever he said of him he expressed in harsh terms. An extraordinary event occurred at that time; for, when the Aghwanitsch, resident in Kara Bagh, told this to the people, they unanimously declared that he was the king of Armenia foretold in their books, who should arrive in Persia, and take possession of that region, when having vindicated his authority, he should restore the Armenian kingdom to its pristine greatness. All this was reported to the Shah. When he entered Shamachia in pomp, attended with three hundred Armenians, to whom a hundred others were afterwards added, he gave out that he was a descendant of their ancient kings. It was soon rumoured abroad that what had been foretold in their books was verified: they said, "Let him be our king. He has come to his country, and must be defended by us." When the French ambassador heard this, he told the Shah, and pointed out to him that the learned Armenians would dare to prove that he was the predicted king, as the word Israël signified "a prince," in the Syriac; that should he craftily endeavour to deceive the people with his arts and wiles, a serious revolt would be the consequence; and, exaggerating the impending danger with grave speeches, exhorted him to avert it in time with the greatest care. The Shah, very uneasy at

this, sent for the Etimad-Dowlet, and consulting with him on the propriety or impropriety of permitting the approach of Ori, he at length determined to allow it.

ADVICE OF MEIR VEIS CONCERNING THE AMBASSADOR.

When the rest of the council were assembled to deliberate on this important occasion, as the knot seemed difficult to unravel, they sent for Meir Veis, and asked his advice. Both parties expressed their sentiments, and desired to know his opinion whether he should be seized or not; some were for his capture, others against it, and many remained neuter. Then addressing Meer Veis, they said, "You are also a faithful servant of the Shah; and as you have experience, resolve our doubt, for we have need of your talents and wisdom." Meir Veis excused himself on account of his unworthiness and ignorance, and pretending reverence and awe, refused to submit his judgment; being urged still further by all, he at length broke out in these words: "To my weak understanding, his admission seems politic; because having set foot in these territories, he will be in your power, and unable to excite further sedition. If you think fit to indulge him in his conceit, he may be cast into prison, and taken off by poison; if it is denied him, and he is sent back to the Czar of Russia, that monarch will be indignant at the affront, and afford him a pretext for kindling the flame of rebellion; especially as Sanazarmi Khan, the brother of Georgis Khan, who fled to that potentate some time back, was received

into the Russian councils, and he seizing the opportunity, will not neglect instigating him to take revenge. You know how much blood and treasure it cost you to repel the Russians from your frontiers, when brought on you in malice; and if their emperor should take offence and invade you, it will be difficult and calamitous to resist him. It is also to be feared, if the envoy be dismissed without an interview, he may conceal his thoughts, and when the signs of rebellion are manifested in the province of Sheerwan, may foment it still further, urge the Armenians, the richest subjects of your empire, with some slight pretence, and cause the effusion of much blood, which God avert! Consider well also, that the Georgians, of the same religion as the Armenians, may league with the Russians: yea, the Governor of Candahar, seeing the time for rebellion, which he attempted unsuccessfully before, may call in the neighbouring states to his assistance, or having promised to betray his province into the hands of the King of India, may claim his succour. It is not very unlikely he may gain the Afghans over to his party; for while your servant was Kalemdar, he saw me do nothing either repugnant to my office or unjust, but not liking my presence, drove me out of the province with false accusations, that he might be able to execute his designs at liberty. If, however, danger should arise, which God forbid! I, your faithful slave, being among the Afghans, could easily avert it, and preserve them in constant loyalty to the Shah; furthermore, I engage that they shall be a perpetual

honour to the kingdom. Now look unanimously to your frontiers: the envoy ought to be admitted; for the sake of averting the evil, unless you wish to be imprudent." All concurred in this advice, as emanating from a man of consummate wisdom, and well disposed towards the empire. This was reported to the Shah, who conferred on Meer Veis a robe of honour, sent him into Candahar, and commanding also the approach of the Russian ambassador, gave orders that every necessary preparation should be made to receive him with respect.

DEPARTURE OF MEER VEIS FOR CANDAHAR.

Meer Veis thus gained the object of his wishes, in the long desired permission to return to his native soil; and was the bearer of letters to Georgis Khan, the governor of Candahar, in which he was strictly admonished to live peaceably with Meir Veis, to restore him to his former rank, to treat him as superior to the rest of his nation, and to confer every honour upon him. The Etimad Dowlet also told him privately, that if the Prince of Georgia should evince any design of revolting, he was to notify it to him without delay, and gave him a sealed document to that effect. The Divan Beg too gave him letters to his brother, in which he recommended him as a prudent man, who was in favour with the Shah, as a friend and applauder of his own, and advised him by all means to seek a reconciliation.

ARRIVAL OF MEER VEIS AT CANDAHAR, AND DELIBERATION ON THE MURDER OF GEORGIS KHAN.

Meer Veis judged he ought to lose no time in departing for Candahar: partly rejoicing at his return, and partly solicitous of his affairs, he hurried by the stations and caravanseries, and entering the fortress was received with military honours. The Prince and the Afghans complimented him for some days on his arrival. Going to his estate with the governor's permission, many of his friends visited him, for the purpose of congratulating him on his return from his pilgrimage. After a short time, his most intimate friends, the heads of the tribes, and the Bulochy chiefs, were admitted to a secret meeting, when placing the Koran in their hands, they bound themselves in a most solemn oath. He then showed them the letter given him by the Etimad-Dowlet to Georgis Khan. All thinking his grace had been extended to him by God, recounted the injuries inflicted on their nation by the Georgians and Persians, and evincing no little zeal for the Mahommedan religion, were completely submissive to the advice of Meer Veis. Being satisfied of the cöoperation and assent of all, he considered his means and method of executing his plans. This contriver of villainy, understanding that artifice was necessary for the attainment of his object, soon after entering the palace of Georgis Khan, accused the Bulochees of having plundered the Afghans. To this fraudulent insinuation Georgis Khan gave ear, and having called his officers

ordered them immediately to pursue the aggressors, and told them they might expect him in the evening, with his body guard. Then turning to Meer Veis, "You," he said, " quickly arming yourself well, must attend me with the Afghans at the appointed place; when we have joined the Georgian troops will be in readiness, and marching day and night, we will attack the Bulochees before they suspect our movements." All prepared to comply with this order, but Meer Veis secretly informed the Bulochy chiefs, and aroused them from the sleep of carelessness. " This," he said, "is the day in which you must remember your contract, for an opportunity is offered for the performance of it." Meer Veis hastening to the rendezvous with three thousand Afghans, anxiously awaited the arrival of Georgis Khan, who, shortly approaching with about a thousand of his household troops, quite unsuspicious of any treachery, was received between two lines of Afghans, surrounded on all sides; and like faithless Pharaoh, was plunged into the sea of death. All perished, nor were any left to carry the account of the slaughter to Candahar.*

CONSULTATION OF MEER VEIS, AFTER THE ASSASSINATION OF GEORGIS KHAN, WITH THE AFGHANS.

When the Afghans had thus gained their object,

* This account of the assassination of the Georgian prince seems much more probable than that of Hanway, who states, he was murdered by Meer Veis at a banquet; or Du Cerceau's, that the Afghans found means to enter the castle in secrecy.

Meer Veis having collected them, held a consultation, and exhorted them afresh with threats, and specious promises, to fidelity and alacrity. "You," he said, "will be happy; and whatever you do for the sake of religion, the memorial of it, as is most deserving it should be, will be engraved on marble, and to the day of resurrection this noble deed will be celebrated by all men; but I wish you to know, that the order for the execution of Georgis Khan, produced by me, was not authentic, but fictitious, that I might show my zeal for religion; and I was led to it, in order to prevent a recurrence of those evils which we were unable to tolerate. It is incumbent on us in future to consecrate, with similar ardour, our souls and bodies to the Mahommedan faith. Since we have by our rebellion incurred the vengeance of the Persians, if victory shun us, our wives and children will be led away captive." When he ceased speaking, the Afghans were afraid of the consequences, and repented of their rashness, their elders exclaiming in these words: "The Persian empire is most powerful and extensive, abounding in men and treasure, and we only out of three tribes are opposed to it. By what means can we, poor subjects as we are, resist it?—how can we free ourselves from their powerful hands?" Having said this, Meer Veis, a man of ready wit and knowledge, quoted several passages from the Koran, consonant with his purpose, and buoyed up their spirits with many encouragements. Some, not yet quieted by his reasonings, again said, "We have sworn fidelity and

allegiance to the Shah of Persia; it is therefore unlawful for us to wage war against him." Meer Veis, with his usual powers of oratory, replied, "The Persians have long ago far exceeded the bounds of equity, and in various ways injured our honour and nation; they have lately appointed an heretical prince over us; yea, and what is still baser, do not regard their covenants." Moreover, producing the opinions of the Ulemas of Arabia, India, and Mavur-ool-nehr, he removed their doubts; the greater part were eager for the war, and the rest were drawn into it by compulsion.

SEIZURE OF THE FORTRESS OF CANDAHAR.

The Georgian troops having marched on the expedition, Meer Veis quickly despatched messengers to the Bulochees, who inhabited the hills and plains: these stopped all transit on the roads. Most of the troops fell into the hands of the Bulochees and Afghans, and were either slain, or taken prisoners, few escaping to return to Georgia. Meer Veis also, partly favoured by night, and partly by fortune, with three thousand Afghans, accustomed to war, surprised Candahar, and easily putting the Persian garrison to the sword, captured the fortress, and placed guards in all posts of danger till the morning.

DELIBERATION OF THE AFGHANS, AFTER THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESS.

He next day ordered vast numbers of those who, favouring the Shah, disapproved of this action, to be

put to death, and thus easily repressed a counter-rebellion, that was on the point of breaking out. He again called a meeting, and representing the present state of their affairs, declared how necessary vigilance and caution were. When they understood that the Persians were about to avenge the slaughter of their troops, and perceived they could not escape the punishment of their guilt, as they could not oppose them successfully, they deemed it expedient to inform the king of India, and in case of necessity to implore his assistance. Meer Veis, to rĕanimate and cheer their drooping spirits, addressed them as follows: "Oh ye Afghans! trust in God and be comforted, relying on the justice of your cause; be assured, he will afford you aid against the heretics, and substitute strength for your weakness. Whilst I resided at Isfahan, I perceived the Persian empire hastening to ruin, for it was divided into two factions, one continually opposing the other. Immersed in pleasure and voluptuousness, they neglected the affairs of the kingdom, no one paid attention to the preparations for war, or to the prosperity of the empire; moreover, when other calamities were inflicted on them by God, the ambassador of the Czar of Russia incited the Armenians to rebel, and the Prince of Georgia leagued with the Muscovites. The empire already begins to vacillate. In this state of affairs, war is scarcely practicable, or the necessary armament attainable; and thus, by the help of God, the victory will be ours. However, if you consider yourselves incapable of re-

sisting them, you may flee for succour to the Indian Sovereign; but you ought not to betray your wealth into other hands, and subject yourselves to another power, without some urgent cause. We may be generous, and give the Persians four pounds of gold in lieu of tribute, and afford them other things from our territories; but let us rather keep our riches for our own wants." Determined by these words, and burning with anxiety for war, all taking the Koran in their hand, unanimously bound themselves to its prosecution; and having elected Meer Veis as their leader, promised him fidelity and obedience.

LETTER SENT BY MEER VEIS TO THE SHAH OF PERSIA.

When Meer Veis had in this manner influenced the minds of the people, and confirmed himself in the command, as stratagem is admissable in war, he wrote to the Etimad Dowlet in the following terms: "Most excellent and benign Lord, at the time the most abject slave of your Excellency resided at Isfahan, and was permitted to lick the dust from off your feet, he was ordered to watch the proceedings of Georgis Khan; and he declared, that the depraved conduct of that man would have a pernicious effect on this province. Now indeed, matters are brought to this crisis, for after my arrival in Candahar, the Afghans much oppressed, rose to avenge the injuries inflicted by the Prince of Georgia, which were no longer supportable; and having enticed him from his citadel, slew him, and with wonderful cunning, seized

his castle. Your poor slave they carried from his estate to Candahar, and chose him their governor, though he protested against it; and since rebellion is to be feared in many, I only beseech you not to doubt the constant loyalty of your slave towards his king: and lest they should in the time of sedition elect a disloyal leader, may it please the Shah to appoint his faithful servant over them, as the affair depends upon your mandate. Your slave, by taking every precaution to allay the ferment, will by his prudence easily overcome all difficulties, and extinguishing the flame of rebellion, preserve the country in its ancient prosperity. Should others inform you by letter, of anything contrary to this truth, no confidence should be placed in them; nor are their suggestions for the immediate despatch of an army against the rebels to be attended to, for it behoves us for some time to connive and temporize with them. All are now so excited, that they will either dare to oppose you, or hearing of the approach of a large army which they would be unable to withstand, will betray the province to the Indians, as some out of fear already threaten. In short, caution must be adhered to in this momentous business; and if it is entrusted to my management, I will give it every attention, that by prudence and circumspect delay, a prosperous and wished-for result may be brought about.

LETTER OF MEER VEIS TO THE MINISTERS OF THE EMPEROR OF HINDOSTAN.

In the mean time, Meer Veis, who was eminent for his immense wealth, and the flourishing commerce he carried on with India, did not omit cultivating friendship with the neighbouring commanders, and ministers of the king of India; he endeavouring to gain them over to his interests, gave letters to those about the person of the Indian monarch, into the hands of trusty friends, he sent presents to them according to their rank, informing them of his situation. He in explanation of the motives of his hardiness, wrote: "We Afghans, pride ourselves more on the neighbourhood of the king of India, than of all others, who profess the Mahommedan religion, and therefore trust he will afford us assistance in time of need, for the sake of his own religion. We covenant to oppose the Shah of Persia, who is sending an army against us, for fighting for our faith; but should we fly to the most powerful prince of the Mahommedans, and seek for safety among the rest of his subjects, we all consent to yield our province up to him. We further pray you to lay our cause before the most mighty king of India, the Asylum of Islamism, for if the wicked Persians should take vengeance on us, harass and reduce us to extremities for defend- our faith, and our homes, we will submit ourselves to His Majesty, and zealously serve him, as all his subjects are of our sect, for he has heretofore been our lord. But as there has been as yet no infraction of

the peace on their part, an army ought not to be levied at a great expense, and sent immediately to our relief, since the countenance of the king is sufficient for us at present, and we shall be satisfied if he consents to these proposals; and by prayers and the help of God, we shall conquer the enemies of religion. The Afghans are brave, and it may happen by some fortuitous circumstance, that when the two armies join, we may incite some of the Persian adherents to rebel."* When this letter was laid before the Indian monarch, he was much pleased at it, treated the bearers honourably, and sent them back with a satisfactory answer. Meer Veis delighted with these encouraging letters, which he imagined removed all danger that might arise from that quarter, busied himself in his civil and military duties, and put many of the factious to death.

THE REDUCTION OF CANDAHAR UNDERTAKEN BY THE PERSIANS UNDER KHOOSROW KHAN.

As it daily became more and more manifest that the rebellion had originated in Meer Veis, measures were taken to chastise him; and after the Russian minister, Israel Ori, had arrived, and presented his credentials, which professed the amicable disposition of his court, and it was known that he had not been sent for the purpose of raising Armenia into a new

* This was in the latter part of A.D. 1709, whilst Behadur Shah was on the throne of Hindostan, to whose ministers the above-mentioned letter was addressed.

kingdom, but had only boasted of his descent from their kings, to obtain greater respect, the Persians, delighted with the envoy, having treated him with great honour, sent him back; and it is reported, that he subsequently died in the city of Astrachan. As the danger they apprehended from him was completely removed, they determined to undertake the reduction of Candahar: the court was divided; but most agreed in making the brother of the deceased Georgis Khan, Khoosrow Khan, commander of the army to avenge the slaughter of the Georgians, and thus strip that country of troops for greater safety; and that he, after levying troops from every part of the province, should march with all expedition on Candahar. Nevertheless, the opposite party objected to this —"For," said they, "the Georgians, flushed with victory, may renounce their allegiance; six thousand Persians should therefore be attached to them, under the command of Abas Koolly Beg; and Khoosrow Khan should only receive fifty thousand tomans, instead of the two hundred thousand, demanded by him, for the defrayment of his expenses." Khoosrow Khan, thus appointed commander-in-chief, and governor-general, left for Candahar by the route of Mushed. A.H. 1124—(A.D. 1713.)*

* The date in the preceding note was given on the authority of Du Cerceau, who takes M. Michael's return to France in 1709, as a data for fixing that of Meer Veis to Candahar; the above, however, corrects him, unless we suppose that four years were allowed to elapse, before Khoosrow Khan was despatched to bring the Afghans back to a sense of their duty.

PREPARATIONS OF MEER VEIS FOR THE RECEPTION OF KHOOSROW KHAN.

When Meer Veis heard that the combined Georgian and Persian army had been ordered to Candahar, he did not omit taking precautions for his safety, and ordered all the harvest to be reaped, and brought into the citadel, for eleven days distance on the route by which the Persians were to march. He took care the corn should be collected, and the country laid waste; thus having supplies for a long time, he made preparations for a two years' siege. He sent the inhabitants of the towns in the plains into the mountain fastnesses, placed the greater portion of his cavalry in the defiles and passes, and shut himself up in the fortress with his infantry, and the remainder of his horse. The Persians at length arriving, made the necessary dispositions for laying siege to the town. The Persians had brought with them no provisions, expecting, as the autumn was coming on, to find abundance, and were surprised to see the country round Candahar desolate and bare on their arrival; nevertheless, they determined to invest the place. Meer Veis, well acquainted with their strength, and want of supplies, resolved not to sally out against them, but to await the attack in his citadel.

THE PERSIANS RAISE THE SIEGE OF CANDAHAR, THEIR DEFEAT AND FLIGHT.

The Persians, foreseeing the siege of the well-pro-

visioned fortress would be tedious, despaired in succeeding, and having foraged for some days, found the vegetation completely burnt up; and as winter was coming on, and their affairs bore an unpromising aspect, they did not know how they should subsist, or how return, and were afraid of a mutiny. Having therefore held a council, they raised the siege; the Persians marched one way to save themselves, the Georgians another in two divisions; whilst a force of six thousand men was detached from the Georgian chief. When Abas Koolly Khan observed this separation, flying to Candahar, he reported most minutely the condition of the Persian troops to Meer Veis, who learning from this traitor the intended retreat of the army into its own country, ordered eight hundred camels to be got in readiness, equipped with instruments of war.* Leading his troops in person against the retiring foe, and bravely rushing on Khoosrow Khan, he completely defeated him, five hundred Georgians only saving themselves by the swiftness of their flight, the rest being cut to pieces by the sword of the enemy, and the whole of their equipage fell into the hands of Meer Veis. The next day the Persian army was totally destroyed, as it was marching in disorder, destitute of officers, and unable to resist the pursuing Afghans. They then turned to the further

* These troops seem to be those mentioned by Mr. Elphinstone, under the denomination of Shaheenchees, "who are men," says he, "mounted on camels, which carry large swivels."—*Description of Caubul*, vol. ii. p. 268.

pursuit of the Georgians, who were progressing with great difficulty; but Khoosrow Khan having escaped the previous battle, the Georgians rushing to him, heard what had occured; they endeavoured to oppose their assailants, like infuriated tigers, and unanimously fell on them, sword in hand, and cut their way through.* The Afghans tired of fighting for so many days, thinking they had acquired sufficient renown by their victories, and that thanks ought to be offered to God for them, returned to Candahar, with delight, and divided their booty among them. Meer Veis died several years after this army had been sent against him, and by the divine help was never conquered.

DEATH OF MEER VEIS.

This celebrated and most sapient hero, when he had ruled Candahar for seven years, and opposed the most mighty Persian empire, was never reduced to despair; at length his strength failing him, and his frame debilitated, he was attacked by a fatal disease. The Afghans, overwhelmed with grief at his lamentable con-

* Du Cerceau states that Khoosrow Khan was slain in the first attack of the Georgians. Hanway mentions a circumstance relative to the bravery of these troops, which I hope to be excused for introducing here. Whilst the Afghans were pursuing the remains of Khoosrow's army, a Georgian, who had lost his horse, was attacked by a party of the enemy. Singling out the nearest of his foes, he deliberately drew his pistol, and shot him, then mounting the steed of his fallen adversary, leaped into the river, which separated him from his companions, and regained the shore, amidst the admiration of all who witnessed his feat.

dition, often visiting him, sought his advice on their affairs. When informed of the virulence of his complaint, he consoled and advised them, saying—"In the first place commending your affairs to God, carry on the war like men; in the second, be noble-minded, and always unanimous in every condition, and no longer subject to the Persians; strain every nerve, and repel by every effort the evils they would inflict on you, for their ruin is hastening on, through the dissensions of the court, and the wickedness of the people; fear not their specious numbers, for you being united, and relying on God, may conquer them, and occupy Isfahan itself."

Having thus concluded his advice, he expired, and was translated to the Mansions of Eternity.

THE REIGN OF MEER ABDALLAH IN CANDAHAR.

When Meer Veis had exhaled his spirit, his brother Abdallah assumed the government of Candahar; but being of a peaceable disposition, and adverse to war, he convoked the Afghans, and thus addressed them:—"After having endured so many troublesome wars, are you persuaded, as I am, that it is desirable to conclude a peace with Persia, and enjoy the pleasures arising therefrom in quietness? Now my brother is dead, an opportunity is afforded you for the attainment of this blessing, and the King of Persia will not refuse it you. Having therefore sent an ambassador to demand that he should resign the government of Candahar in perpetuity to us, and all the

territories pertaining to it; that the Persians should be allowed to interfere with us no longer; that he should put an end to their quarrels with our nation; we will stipulate to pay, yearly, a reasonable tribute into the royal treasury, with the conditional offer of our obedience; in this way seeking peace with the Shah, it is to be hoped that monarch will acquiesce in your desire." When he had said this, dissension broke out among them, and the esteem the Afghans formerly bore towards him growing cold, was generally turned into hatred, and they longed to shed his blood, as he had broken his oath of renewing the war with Persia. In spite of this, Meer Abdallah, gaining over some of them, by threats and promises, to his opinions, secretly sent a letter to this effect to the Shah.

HISTORY OF MEER MAHMOOD, HIS ASSASSINATION OF MEER ABDALLAH, AND USURPATION.

Mahmood, as yet a youth of eighteen, was brought up by his uncle Abdallah; for his father, Meer Veis, dying, left three sons, of whom he was most attached to Mahmood, who never having been absent from his side in all his battles, had gained great experience in military matters, and been committed at his father's death to the guardianship of his own uncle. Being deeply interested in the affairs of the Afghans, when he had read a letter which had been written him, first concealed its contents, and then stabbed his uncle at night whilst asleep. According to ancient custom there have been towers erected in some parts of Persia and Canda-

har, in which a drum is placed, and struck to announce events of great importance, and convoke a meeting; at the sound of it, the people instantly flock to the market place. Having killed his uncle, Mahmood sounded the alarum, and the people flew to the spot, where he, being well educated, not only proved war to be holy and just by various extracts from the Koran; but also from the prophetic writings, and at the same time read the letter that had been sent him. When they learnt from it that Abdallah was the means of occasioning trouble to the country, for the sake of pleasure and luxury, and of subjugating the Afghans again to the Persians, according to his proposal to them; that he was the secret betrayer of the one, and friend of the other; he gave it into their hands, exclaiming, "I am his destroyer." When they had read it through, and found that Mahmood had misrepresented nothing, and knew he had been constantly present in all his father's battles, that he was a brave warrior, and friendly towards them all, they elected him their leader at the age of eighteen, and inaugurated him. Assuming, in this manner, the government of Candahar, he put all those devoted dependants of Abdallah to death, and collecting an army, marched against the neighbouring Huzara Afghans, who, worn out by his repeated incursions, and having in vain implored succour from the King of Persia, united themselves to the rest of the Afghans. There had hitherto been unanimity between two

tribes * of Afghans, and a third was now leagued with them.

OF THE SECOND PERSIAN WAR FOR THE RECOVERY OF CANDAHAR, OF THEIR GENERAL, SUFFEE KOOLLY KHAN, AND THE FATE OF HIS YOUNG SON.

When the rumour of this concord between the Afghans reached the Persian Court, all being much alarmed at it, deliberated, and were afraid that if matters were allowed to remain in this dangerous state, some other serious rebellion would break out, and determined on finding a remedy for the evil; and accordingly, Suffee Koolly Khan was appointed to the command of the army. He had formerly been governor of Isfahan, and was eminent in the council for his wisdom and prudence; but in the reign of Shah Hoossein, being removed through the intrigues of the opposite faction, he shut himself up in his house, and refused an appointment that had been offered him in exchange. Afterwards a valuable robe and turban, enriched with gems, being sent him by the King, according to custom, with the letters patent of office, he again refused; "For," said he, "the generals up to the present time have not been able to succeed in their expeditions, nor could they command absolutely, on account of the inspectors placed about them. It is not right," continued he, "to throw obstacles

* The Bulochees and the Khiljees, though the latter are never throughout the work called by this name, but by the generic term, Afghan.

in the way of their endeavours; for unless an army reverence the pleniary authority of its commander, it will never sustain the fatigues of war; and, moreover, what is far worse, as long as factions reign at court, it is impossible to take revenge on our enemies; and in this way the troops have it equally at their option, on account of these differences, to labour or not—to conquer or be conquered; considering which I am unwilling to accept the appointment." The ministers again met in council to discuss this answer, and no one being so well qualified for the command as Suffee Koolly Khan, they once more endeavoured to prevail on him, but gained nothing by their solicitations. The affair got abroad in the city, and they knowing he had a son of seventeen, determined to offer the command to him, in the hopes that the old General might, through paternal affection, be induced to accompany his son to the war. The robe of honour and turban adorned with jewels, was accordingly sent by the king to the young man, who, prostrate at his parent's feet, with a thousand entreaties and blandishments, persuaded him to accompany him to the war. For this service the son was invited by the Shah to a splendid banquet, and was presented with a magnificently caparisoned steed; mounting which, and girding on his sword, and placing his turban on his head, the same day he left the royal palace at Casween with his forces, and proceeded to Candahar by the route of Mushed and Herat. His father Suffee Koolly would not allow him to interfere in any affair, but directed

every thing himself; he was, indeed, known and esteemed for his talents throughout the Persian empire. The son was loaded with honours and favours by the Shah, and men and women from Casween and its neighbourhood congregated on his route; and when he afterwards left Isfahan with sixteen thousand Persians, persons eager to see him flocked together from every side, following him with prayers and acclamations.

DEFEAT OF THE PERSIANS, AND DEATH OF SUFFEE KOOLLY KHAN AND HIS YOUNG SON.

When the Huzaras heard the Persian troops were approaching, they sent immediately to implore succour from Mahmood, who, without delay, sent them auxiliary forces. Suffee Koolly Khan remained with the largest and best part of the army; but his son, going as usual on a foray with a detachment of three hundred Persian cavalry, fell in with the Afghan outposts, and the conflict growing hot, he, with nearly all his followers, was slain; the few who escaped by the precipitancy of their flight, brought the melancholy news to the father. Stunned by this intelligence, and neglecting the disposition of his troops, Suffee immediately hastened to draw his sword on the foe, and the Persians seeing the rage and indignation of their commander, suddenly gave ground; and when Assad Allah brought up reinforcements to the Afghans, both armies joined, and Suffee Koolly Khan, fighting in the foremost ranks, and rushing into the

midst of the foe, was slain. His troops were compelled to fly, a part only escaped, but the greatest number were left on the field; and Assad Allah having captured their baggage, returned to his own country, and the Afghans, delighted and enriched, laid aside all thought of opposing themselves to the Persians.

DETERMINATION OF THE PERSIANS TO RENEW THE WAR WITH THE AFGHANS.

When this news was brought to Persia, every one was panic-struck; however, they thought that in that state the reduction of the Afghans ought not to be abandoned, but every nerve strained to effect this desirable end. Taking the ruinous condition of their affairs into consideration, they appointed Lootf Ally Khan, the prime minister's son-in-law, the new commander-in-chief: he, as the island of Muscat had some years previously been wrested from the Persians, who were compelled to submit to various grievances occasioned by the continual excursions to Bender Abas,* judged it of the greatest importance to regain it. The usual dissensions at court were, however, renewed, so that the enterprise could scarcely be expected to succeed. The island of Muscat is situated near the coast of Persia, abounds with pearls, and contains a considerable tract of land. This expedition

* Gombroon. The English had a grant of a moiety of the customs of this port assigned them by Shah Abas, in 1622, for their assistance in the reduction of Ormuz.

appearing easier of accomplishment than that to Candahar, and not being to a great distance, most of the ministers concurred in it.

THE CÖOPERATION OF THE PORTUGUESE FLEET SOUGHT BY THE PERSIANS.

Being at a loss for ships to transport their troops and ammunition to Muscat, they determined on hiring them from the Portuguese, who promised them as many as they might require, on condition that they would pay up the customs due to them from the time of Shah Abas to that of Hoossein. This was promised, and they immediately sent the vessels. Forty-six thousand Persians began their march, and when they arrived on the coast near Bender Abas, the Admiral hearing the stipulated money had not been brought down, refused to take them on board, and drew off from the shore. For when Lootf Ally Khan was on the point of starting, the opposition persuaded the Shah not to pay this large sum to the Portuguese, since, by offering it to the Governor of Muscat, they could recover the island, and obtain peace more easily. The Portuguese Admiral being informed of this, set sail on his return home, and thus the Persian army was disappointed.

ARRIVAL OF MEER MAHMOOD AT KIRMAN—ITS SIEGE AND CAPTURE—BATTLE WITH LOOTF ALLY KHAN—DEFEAT OF MAHMOOD, AND HIS FLIGHT INTO CANDAHAR.

In the meanwhile Meer Mahmood invaded Caramania, and took possession of the town and fortress of Kirman. The Persian army hearing the island of Muscat had been happily regained, and being supplied with ammunition, left Caramania for Candahar; but when Lootf Ally Khan was informed that Mahmood had occupied Kirman, he led a numerous army against him by forced marches, and attacking the Afghan, defeated and compelled him to fly into Candahar.

CONSPIRACY OF THE COUNCIL AGAINST LOOTF ALLY KHAN.

When the report of the victory reached the ears of the Shah, and Lootf Ally Khan demanded supplies for the army, his enemies endeavoured through envy to dissuade the monarch from granting them, alleging the spoils taken from the enemy ought to suffice. When Lootf Ally Khan was told this, he devastated the estates of the dissentient nobles from Kirman to Shiraz, giving the spoils to his soldiers instead of rations, distributing to them the camels and other cattle he had seized, and entered Shiraz. When the nobles heard of his march within twelve days of Isfahan, they were inflamed with the greatest indig-

nation, and complained to the Shah. "He has not marched," they said, "to the destination you ordered him, and his having devastated the country, and made a magnificent and pompous entry into Shiraz, is a certain sign of depravity and rebellion." The Shah, however, highly delighted at his having defeated the Afghans, paid no attention to their complaints, but saying he had forgiven all his derelictions, put them to silence.

THE FATE OF THE ETIMAD-DOWLET, OR PRIME MINISTER, FETTEH ALLY KHAN, AND THE FALSE CALUMNIES AGAINST HIM.

When the Shah's enemies heard his speech, which bespoke his attachment to Lootf Ally Khan, the flame of envy and detraction burned within their breasts. "Since," said they, "Lootf Ally Khan is the son-in-law and the intimate friend of the Prime Minister, who is also high in the Shah's favour, and the command of the army is in his hands; having once defeated the Afghans, should he subjugate them afresh, gain the affections of the sovereign and every one else, and unbounded confidence placed in their representations against us, death is indubitably impending over our heads." They inflamed each other with these and similar arguments, and met for the purpose of devising some stratagem; and though exposed to great difficulties, they at length fixed upon a scheme. For whilst the Shah was residing in the city Tehran, which is twelve days to the north of

Isfahan, they thought that place favourable for the execution of their diabolical designs; and by the assistance of the Moolla Padshah and Hukeem Padshah,* they plotted the ruin of the Etimad-Dowlet, and afterwards that of Lootf Ally Khan. Now, as access to the Shah was always open to either of these, they went into his presence bare-headed, stunned his ears with their clamours, and produced a letter written by the Prince to the Koords, who reside on the frontiers of the Ottoman empire, in which it was notified that the period had arrived for executing a plan they had some time previously known and agreed to, and therefore they ought to send three thousand horsemen to Tehran without delay, who were to attack the palace by night, and put every one to death while asleep. The credulous monarch, excessively frightened by this letter, having no suspicion of its being a forgery, knew neither what he said or did. Concocting, moreover, a new fraud, they said, "Lootf Ally Khan, at his instigation, was to leave Shiraz, and in conjunction with the Koords, to attack Isfahan; it is highly necessary, therefore, to take precautions for warding off the danger. There was no doubt of its authenticity, for the letter was secured with his own seal, which the king knew when shown him." Shah Hoossein then ordered the K'hasgee Padshah to be called, and ordered him to bring the head of the Etimad-Dowlet.

* The Chief Priest and principal physician to the Shah.

THE ETIMAD-DOWLET DEPRIVED OF SIGHT THROUGH THE MACHINATIONS OF HIS ENEMIES.

THE traducers of the Prime Minister, however, in order to conceal their treachery better, craftily persuaded the Shah to be satisfied with depriving him of sight, lest his execution might create a tumult. "It may happen," they said, "that the safety of the kingdom may depend on his advice, and affairs of such importance ought not to be neglected." Although the Shah ordered him both to be put in chains and brought before him, his accusers prevented the monarch from seeing him, and taking care that his eyes should be put out, cast him in that state into prison. When Shah Hoossein heard of this unlooked-for deed, plunged into anxiety, sometimes burning with rage, and at others with remorse for his imprudence, said, "Is it possible that my able and upright servant could have committed treason of this kind?" Greatly disturbed in mind, and abstaining from all nourishment and sleep for some days, he remained immersed in these sorrowful cogitations. At length repenting of his rashness, he summoned the Moolla and Hukeem Padshahs, and said, "You have instigated me to this deed. I will inquire most rigidly into it, and desire that every care be taken of the Etimad-Dowlet's eyes."

LOOTF ALLY KHAN SUMMONED FROM SHIRAZ, AND CAST INTO PRISON.

It was also notified to the Governor of Shiraz, that he was to send Lootf Ally Khan to Isfahan in chains. He, solicitous about the method of executing this order, invited the General from the camp to a banquet at his house, and calling him from the feast into a vacant room, delivered him the royal mandate. When Lootf Ally had read it through, he made no resistance, but, clasping his hands, said, "I obey the Shah most willingly," and was sent in chains to Isfahan.

ASSEMBLY OF THE SHAH'S MINISTERS, AND THE ETIMAD-DOWLET CONFRONTED WITH HIS ACCUSERS.

In the meantime the enemies of the Etimad-Dowlet seized every opportunity of heaping their calumnies upon him in the presence of the Shah, and endeavoured to sully his reputation; but the monarch suspected the fraud, and therefore called the court to trial, and ordered every one to declare, in the Etimad-Dowlet's presence, what they knew and what they had seen. An extraordinary Divan being convoked, the Prime Minister, with the wounds of his eyes somewhat cured, was, by the Shah's order, confronted with his enemies, the sovereign being desirous of hearing in full council the questions and answers of either party. The Vizier was led into the King's presence, with his eyes bandaged, and placed in a corner of the hall. When all summoned were pre-

sent, Hoossein ordered each person to state what he knew, and produce any documents that might be in his possession, that Fetteh, answering all objections, might fully repel their accusations; and this decree was proclaimed by criers. The trial beginning, one of his devil-inspired accusers rising, thus began his calumnies:—"I was informed," said he, "by a man worthy of credence, and high in office, who heard it from the lips of the Etimad-Dowlet himself, that when he visited the tomb of Sooliman, the deceased father of Shah Hoosein, he approached it and made use of the following abusive expressions:—'Woe unto thee, Shah Sooliman, now thou art in this state: thou didst order my innocent father to be put to death; I to avenge him will take care that your son Hoossein shall be shortly murdered.' Secondly, for the attainment of this end, he sent a letter to the Koord Chieftains, sealed with his own seal, which he carried for safety in his bosom day and night, and there is no probability that it could have been counterfeited. Thirdly, he admitted the enemies of the empire to his council, held converse with them, and listened to their advice, but did not admit or consult the faithful servants of the Shah, and esteeming them as so many stones and trees, treated them with haughty superciliousness. Fourthly, he drew all the inhabitants of Persia over to his side, and exhorted them not to obey any royal mandate, but to reverence his orders only, and to pay due obedience to them. Fifthly, he has wedded his daughters to men of the highest dignity,

thus contracting affinity to the magnates of the empire, that it might avail him at the time fitting for the execution of his diabolical designs. Sixthly, in religion he is a Soonee, and favours the Lezgees; and now the rebellion of that nation also originated at his instigation." In order to confirm this treason, they produced another letter furnished with his signet, to the following effect:—"Ye Lezgee chieftains, give not place to fear, but seize the whole province of Sheerwan, even to the citadel; my nephew is governor of Erivan, and for this reason, conniving at him, send not an army against us." "Seventhly, he placed his nephews in power while they were but little children under age, and gave them the command of the frontiers. Eighthly, his son-in-law, Lootf Ally Khan, he appointed commander of the army against the Prince of Muscat, and when he might have conquered by the cöoperation of the Portuguese fleet, he neither embarked his troops, or left Kirman to pursue the Afghans to Candahar. Besides squandering the royal treasure, he permitted the kingdom to be devastated, and protected the estates of his minions, but seized the wealth of the Shah's faithful servants; therefore, it is manifest that the empire has been occupied with his consent, partly by the Prince of Muscat, partly by the Lezgees, and partly by the Afghans; and if an opportunity is offered him of executing his designs, he will conspire with them. Ninthly, he has heaped together immense wealth, has vast hoards of gold and silver; and besides many gems, and innumerable ar-

ticles of immense value, nine hundred thousand tomans and upwards were found in his treasury." When what had been said in the Etimad-Dowlet's hearing was committed to writing, the Shah, addressing him, said—"You may now answer each of these separately; you have my permission to do so, and I will hear whether their allegations are true or not." Then the Prime Minister, rising, began his speech, in a clear tone. "Oh most merciful sovereign!—I am this day permitted to speak before you, that they who committed this wicked act might prefer their complaints against me, and I defend myself; though I certainly wish this grace had been extended me before I was deprived of sight, and condemned unheard; for what will it now avail thy servant, since my enemies, by their lies and foul calumnies, have obtained their ends? I do not wish, therefore, to survive this ignominy; but consider it preferable, and desire most earnestly to perish by thy sword. The cause of this disgrace is my integrity, and unalterable fidelity to my King; and these charges against me, are compositions of fraud and malice. I will now begin my defence, and can make their knavery manifest, and will prove I have not departed a nail's breadth from my loyalty and integrity. However, I fear, Oh most merciful sovereign, lest, knowing the truth, and touched with grief at my misery, thou wilt abstain from the death of thy slave, and leave me to linger on in this abject and afflicted condition." When he would have proceeded in this querulous strain, the Shah said—"If you can answer

their allegations, I will inflict the proper punishments on them." Cheered by this, the Etimad-Dowlet boldly began to repel the accusations of his enemies.

THE ETIMAD DOWLET'S FIRST ANSWER.

"As regards the visit to Shah Sooliman's tomb. Others invested with my office during your reign, were accustomed to visit shrines, accompanied by their servants; thus your slave, on a similar occasion, was attended, besides his own domestics, by many of the courtiers, by learned and virtuous men, as is universally known. Why, therefore, did not any one else hear this improper speech at the tomb of Sooliman? And for the sake of justice let it be decided, whether the unsupported evidence of this foul accuser, who was formerly beaten from my house for his crimes, deserves credence. Irritated at the stripes inflicted on him, he tells his falsehoods in the presence of the Shah, and instigates him to commit this deed."

ANSWER THE SECOND.

"The letter sealed with my signet was forged. You are aware, that some years back, notorious counterfeiters issued in our empire spurious letters and false coin, and though many were decapitated, it was impossible to eradicate the evil; they imitated the Venetian gold pieces, offered them to you, and they were scarcely distinguishable from the genuine: and my seal is far easier of imitation. Neither is the writing mine, since it appears, by the letter, that on the day

after its date, three thousand Koords were to break into the royal palace; when they, residing, as they do, on the frontiers of the Ottoman empire, if they used every despatch, could not reach Tehran in less than fifteen days, nor would it be very easy for three thousand men to break into the palace. Further, if I had been conscious of their coming, I should have prepared myself accordingly; whereas, when the K'hasgee Padshah bound me, busied with no preparations, I had not been out of my haram; and if, which God avert! I could have polluted myself with this horrid crime, (and my enemies affirm that I have,) when I could have conspired with my son-in-law, Lootf Ally Khan, what necessity was there for my seeking aid from the Koords, when he had drawn his army into the neighbourhood of Isfahan? If you desire to know the truth, ask those who gave you the letter, from whom they received it—by what means it came into their possession—whether when the Etimad-Dowlet had not the command of his faculties through inebriation, a servant who had continual access to him, did not, at the instigation and bribery of his enemies, abstract his signet from his bosom, seal two blank sheets, and give them to his foes? It is therefore clear that I have not committed this fault." [It is to be observed that by the ancient laws of the empire, the Grand Vizier had not pleniary power on all occasions, but his duty consisted in determining the quarrels of the subjects, and looking after the affairs of the nation. He had no right to interfere in other

matters, nor did the Shah commit them to his direction; for he reserved to himself the prerogative of making war, or concluding peace, appointing or removing the generals of the army, the governors on the frontiers, ambassadors, and other affairs of a like tendency. Some of the monarchs, subsequently, deviating from this ancient custom, committed everything to the direction of the Etimad-Dowlets. Shah Hoossein, following their example, left the management of the empire to his premier, and indulged in voluptuousness, since the fidelity of that minister was to be depended on, as he wished well to the kingdom.]

ANSWER THE THIRD.

Relying on what he had hitherto said, the Etimad Dowlet thus proceeded in his defence. "Oh! most gracious monarch, when it pleased thee to commit those affairs to thy servant which were usually reserved by the Shah to himself, from that very period I experienced the envy and hatred of thy ministers; therefore I was compelled to communicate only with my friends: and though I would have admitted my accusers to my councils, when matters of importance were to be deliberated on, yet they neglected my advice, and in spite of me cared neither for the welfare, or troubles of the Empire." Saying that the Shah knew this to be a fact, he proved his assertions, by adducing many instances.

ANSWER THE FOURTH.

"That the royal mandates were disregarded, that the people dared to evince negligence in the execution of them, but that my orders were obeyed without the slightest plea, willingly and speedily, may be accounted for in this way. If they were slow and negligent in their obedience to my orders, most assuredly they would have suffered capital punishment; they well knew they would not be exempted from them, that their prayers, excuses and bribes, would be alike disregarded. But as for mine enemies, it makes no difference who may be King for them: they neither attend to, nor understand the importance or glory of the Empire; they solely regard their own interests, one day infringing the authority of the royal decree, the next enacting the reverse. To suit their private convenience, they hesitate not to break laws once revered, and neither fearing removal from office, nor caring much for their Sovereign, deceive him with their falsehoods and flattery."

ANSWER THE FIFTH.

"I do not deny their assertions with regard to having wedded my daughters to men of the greatest consequence; for which would be the most creditable, to marry my children to their equals, or to men of the vilest description, and thus connect myself with the King's enemies? Surely, to his faithful servants of long experience in state affairs! Is it to be deemed suspi-

cious, then, that I have united them to thy old and valued ministers? One of their husbands is Roostoom, the Commander of the Household troops; another Roostoom Mirza, who has gained renown for the zeal he has evinced in the service of his Sovereign; the third is Mahomed Koolly Khan, the Deputy Etimad-Dowlet in the renowned city of Isfahan. He is well affected towards the country, has never been accused of any crime, has gained the esteem and friendship of the Shah, and obtained great honors in the Empire, and I have constituted him, in my will, heir to all my property."

ANSWER THE SIXTH.

"That I am a Soonee in religion, and of Lezgee origin, is universally known, and there are innumerable Soonee subjects in the kingdom. We are all the Shah's faithful servants, nor was there ever any suspicion of our loyalty. But the letter written to the Lezgee chiefs, and sealed with my seal, is also forged, and what it contains is complete falsehood and foul calumny: for at the time those didst appoint me to my office, that nation had already risen in rebellion. These inhabitants of the loftiest and most inaccessible mountains were kept within the bonds of subjection with great difficulty, at times by force, at others by the caresses of their prudent governors; and in the time of thy ancestors some thousand troops were kept in garrison on the frontiers. Shah Abas afterwards assigning them seven hundred thousand tomans per

annum from his treasury, again joined their territories to his own; thus they were always ready to afford us aid with their troops in time of need. You are aware that for some years the pay of the army of observation, and the Lezgee subsidy, were issued regularly from the royal treasury, but were afterwards withheld and divided among those in office. I wish you to know that this was the cause of their rebellion. In consequence, I despatched the son of my uterine brother last year against them, whom they slew. Others were forced into insurrection at the time when the ambassadors from the Shemchal and chieftains of Daghestan arrived for the purpose of making a new peace with the Shah, and obtaining pardon for their delinquencies: this was also made a matter of private emolument, and was fraudulently decided. For when Vachtan Khan, the prince of Georgia, attempted to oppose the Lezgees, who were, according to custom, harassing his country, having descended from the mountains with the whole strength of their province, in the depth of winter, and the news of his determination reached them, they made a hypocritical demand for peace, in order to avert the calamities with which he threatened them. When Vachtanga informed you of his want of ammunition, your ministers, deliberating on the circumstance, pretended that if he conquered Daghestan, greater evils would arise from this circumstance than from the Lezgees. 'For,' said they, 'if he conquers that country, he, on the slightest pretext, such as being offended by the Shah,

will conclude a peace with the Russians, who are in his neighbourhood, and profess the same religion as himself; and thus, beyond doubt, bringing many calamities on the Empire, will likewise refuse to pay obedience to thee.' With these, and similar falsities, the Moolla and Hukeem Padshahs, urged that peace was advantageous, and the envoy demanded it. Confidential letters were therefore sent to the people of Daghestan; and an emphatic and peremptory letter was also written to Vachtanga, in these words:—'You, Vachtan Khan, Prince of Georgia, when you receive this royal letter, desist from the war with Daghestan, nor undertake it on any pretext; and take heed that when it reaches you, if you have already mounted, that you dismount; if on the march, you immediately return; if in battle, you sheathe the sword, and offer no molestation to the Lezgees, for letters of assurance have been sent by the Shah to that nation.'

"When Vachtan Khan received this message, he was exceedingly irritated at having the opportunity of conquest, for which he had made such preparations, snatched from him; and swore in the presence of all, never in future to draw sword against the enemies of Persia—an oath to which he has since adhered most scrupulously, and no longer serves the Shah. But the envoy of the Shemchal, having received the letters to the Lezgees, left Tehran for Daghestan; and shortly after, delegates were sent from the rest of the chieftains, demanding the subsidy due to them by the regulations of Shah Abas; and on New-Year's-Day,

ninety-four envoys of the chieftains received their money and letters of credit."

ANSWER THE SEVENTH.

"It is true that I have placed the infant sons of my brother in power, and have promoted them to certain offices; for, according to the laws of the Empire, the princely dignity is conferred by the Shah on the sons of the deceased, and I have not afforded a new precedent by doing so. When they left for their governments, prudent tutors were placed at their sides; nor up to this period has any complaint of injustice been preferred against them."

ANSWER THE EIGHTH.

"My son-in-law, Lootf Ally Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, did not transport his troops to the Island of Muscat, or oppose its governor; for when, during the reign of Shah Abas, we made war with the Portuguese, to regain, through the aid of the English and Dutch fleets, the places * they had taken from us, it was stipulated that they should restore those places, and not injure our merchantmen, on condition that we paid them the yearly sum of five-hundred thousand tomans, which, for some time, they received regularly. When it was notified to the Admiral of the Portuguese fleet, that we stood in need of his cooperation, he demanded freight, and the tribute due to his nation, which we promised to pay; and he immediately sent

* The island of Ormuz, &c.

the vessels. The money was issued from the treasury, but the Shah's ministers, in their usual way, being against its payment, prevented its being handed over to the Portuguese, proving by some arguments, that the exportation of that large sum was impolitic; and when the fleet heard this, they refused their assistance, and returned home. That tribute, though paid out of the treasury, was never refunded; but being debited in the accounts, under the head of the Portuguese fleet, was divided by the courtiers, who spent it all in riotous living. Lootf Ally Khan, therefore, destitute of ships, could not cross the sea; but suddenly marching to Kirman, defeated Mahmood, whom he was not able to pursue for want of provisions, on account of the intervening deserts. He was desirous of traversing the beaten road from Shiraz; but, having in vain demanded supplies for the army, he was compelled to take them where he could find them; I myself, sent out of my own private property, three thousand camel-loads of rice."

ANSWER THE NINTH.

"I have accumulated, during your reign, vast riches; but part of them I received from my forefathers, being of princely descent, and part from my relations. Moreover, I have been entrusted with many grave and important affairs, and have amassed great wealth; still I have not acquired anything by force or injustice, or ever given just cause of accusation." On this, he finished his defence.

When the Shah, who had been listening with great attention, learned the real state of the case, he was seized with grief and remorse; a flood of tears burst from his eyes; and moved with compassion for his innocence, rose from the council. By God's decree, the dawning day of the downfall of Persia broke by this able and generally acquitted minister no longer returning to its councils. Shah Hoossein allowed his worthless courtiers to remain in favor, though he perceived the increasing calamities of the Empire to originate in their dissensions; and notwithstanding he was desirous of inflicting on them the punishment due to their malice, and of restoring the Etimad Dowlet to his former appointment, yet that impious confedederacy, powerful by its union, dissuaded the Shah from his purpose, by various arguments. They gained his consent that Fetteh Ally Khan should be confined in some solitary part of the country; he was, however, sent to Shiraz, and committed to a rigid surveillance; no person of note was permitted to see or speak to him; and a daily sum of fifty tomans was assigned him; and when Mahmood was besieging Isfahan, he was poisoned by the Persians, lest he might afford him an easy admittance. Though he was confined himself, neither of his sons-in-law, Mirza Roostoom, or Mahomed Koolly Khan, lost either wealth or office, but remained in the Shah's favour; the rest of his adherents were imprisoned, and their appointments conferred on others. They, however, subsequently regained their liberty, and their confiscated property,

on condition that they should no longer interfere in public matters, or seek office; and had a place of retirement assigned them.

ACCOUNT OF LOOTF ALLY KHAN.

Lootf Ally Khan suffered much with disease whilst imprisoned at Isfahan, for which reason a medical attendant was appointed to take care of his health by the Shah. Torn from the army, and deprived of his command, he was ordered to remain in the country; but the enemy attacking the country on every side, the Court was afraid that Lootf Ally Khan, irritated with his treatment, would league with one of these assailing parties. Consequently, they would not permit him to leave the city, assigned him the necessaries of life, and placed him under the surveillance of a guard. Not long after, in order to sustain the declining fortunes of the kingdom, they unanimously offered him the command of the army to oppose the Afghans; but this he refused, alleging as an excuse, the state of their affairs. On the capture of the city, Mahmood, hearing he was in chains, ordered him to be brought to him, and treated him with great distinction. The Afghans highly revered him, and although Mahmood and his ministers were uneasy on this account, yet trusting to his honour and fidelity, they admitted him among the number of the councillors. In spite of this, the love of his country prevailing, he determined to join Tahmasp, and accordingly left Isfahan for that purpose. His departure

was immediately reported to Mahmood, who, with mingled threats and promises, ordered him to be brought back. Lootf Ally Khan was captured by the inhabitants of Ben Isfahan, a town in the neighbourhood of the capital, who, relying on the feigned sincerity and promises of reward, brought him bound into the presence of Mahmood. He, however, not fulfilling the pledge he had given of his safety, cut him in four pieces with his sword, and cast out the corpse thus quartered, from the four gates of the city; the Afghans, seeing this murder, and themselves secure from his revenge, slew his son also, who had fled to Tahmasp, and gained great distinction at his court.

The remark ought not to be omitted in this place, that the inhabitants of the desert and uncultivated regions of the East, are generally cruel, fraudulent, unjust, and extremely inhuman; and from this circumstance, the cause will plainly appear why Chungiz Khan, Hoolakoo, and Teimoor, in their conquest of these countries, destroyed such vast numbers. It is also easily proved, that the Persians are of a similar disposition, if you consider the fate brought on the Etimad-Dowlet, Fetteh Ally Khan, and his son-in-law, Lootf Ally Khan, by calumnies which had not the slightest shadow of truth; for not only they sufferod the severest punishments themselves, but their children and relations were extirpated.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE HISTORY OF LOOTF ALLY KHAN.

When the army encamped in the neighbourhood of Shiraz heard their commander had been carried to Isfahan, and thrust into prison, all were astonished; and when neither a new general nor fresh supplies were sent to them, and furthermore, as no letters arrived containing the long expected orders, led by various suspicions, they prepared to disperse. When they heard of the circumstances of the Etimad-Dowlet, Fetteh Ally Khan, and no one was appointed to command them, quickly dispersing, they returned home. The ministers of the Court of Isfahan, hearing of the defection of the troops, were highly delighted; for consulting on the affairs of the army a few days previously, they determined to send a new general, to distribute pay and rations to the troops, and taking care of it till the next summer, and on their reporting this decision to the Shah, he coincided in their opinion. But, as usual, dissension arising among them, some gave it as their advice that the forces should continue in the same state during the winter, since it would require great expenditure to supply the troops with food and the necessaries demanded, declaring there would be no occasion for an army till the next summer, or even longer, and that, without expending the royal treasure, no danger would be incurred;—"For," argued they, "the Afghan army left Kirman routed; an envoy has been sent by the Huzaras to obtain terms, and the Lezgees have done the same; the

troops of Vachtan Khan, moreover, are dispersed; we have regained the island of Muscat, by paying its governor a sum of money; and everything else, in like manner, will succeed." They thus afforded fresh opportunities for their own ruin; nor were they sufficiently attentive to the prosperity of affairs. When the enemies of the empire heard of the injuries inflicted on the Etimad-Dowlet, and on the commander of the army, Lootf Ally Khan, that Vachtanga was also estranged from his allegiance, and that the army was shamefully dispersed, they attacked the kingdom on every side, thinking it a fit opportunity of taking great spoil, and saying, as the Shah and his ministers had previously done, "we shall see what will turn up for our benefit." In like manner, the Lezgee inhabitants of Daghestan, exhorting and instigating each other to rebellion, with the remark that the Etimad-Dowlet was descended from their nation, that he was a professor of their religion, that his eyes had been destroyed in malice by the Persians, and that they could not be repelled, assembled a large force within a few days, and ravaged the territories of Persia during the spring. They broke into the province of Sheerwan, and seizing the city of Shamachia, the ancient seat of the kings, destroyed the weak Persian army that marched against them without a leader. When Mahmood learnt that Sheerwan and Shamachia were occupied by the Lezgees, his anger was aroused, and taking courage, he deliberated with his ministers. When the Etimad-Dowlet, and the commander of the

army, Lootf Ally Khan, heard that the army was dispersed, and that first the Lezgees had seized Shamachia, and then that the rest of Persia was laid waste, they were much enraged, as they would have endeavoured efficiently to have met the exigency. In the mean time, the enemy, within a few days, unanimously collecting forces for their purpose, and supplying them with provisions, suddenly devastated the Persian territories.

THE CELESTIAL AND TERRESTRIAL SIGNS THAT APPEARED IN THE KINGDOM OF PERSIA.

A. H. 1134 (1721, A. D.), a great earthquake was felt in the city of Tabreez, by which many houses were destroyed, and eighty thousand persons perished in the ruins. At Isfahan, during the summer, strange clouds appeared; and in the same year, clouds and mists did not clear off from the capital for a whole day, which the sun's rays could not pierce, and the horizon of Isfahan was the colour of blood. When Shah Hoossein, on his return from Isfahan to Tehran, entered the city, a fiery cloud seemed to surround him, and the astronomers considered these signs indicated the future effusion of blood in the neighbourhood of Isfahan.

MARCH OF MAHMOOD INTO KIRMAN.

After Mahmood had reviewed his means for devastating Persia, he set about the seizure of Kirman, although a severe winter was coming on, considering

himself sufficiently strong to effect his purpose. He took the town in a few days by the assistance of the resident fire-worshippers, who betrayed it into his hands; but as the citadel was fortified and well stored,* its Persian garrison determined to make a vigorous resistance. The Afghans perceiving this, after holding a consultation, decided on leaving a few troops to continue the siege, and to send the remainder to suddenly lay waste the neighbourhood of Isfahan, who, after having effected this part of their project, were to return to Kirman and blockade it till the garrison surrendered from want of provisions. The Afghans, who were not desirous of returning to Candahar, were to fortify themselves therein, and take care of their military stores, that they might be able from thence to make expeditions to whatever places they chose, using that town as the centre of operations and a refuge in danger. When they learnt that there was no Persian army that could then either be easily raised or maintained, as it was winter, having left sufficient troops for the blockade, they suddenly started for the capital, which was twenty-four days distant, mounted on swift, picked horses, to devastate its vicinity.

It is to be remarked, that the Persians evidently did not believe that Mahmood, who had fled routed into

* When Lootf Ally Khan defeated Mahmood, in 1720, in the neighbourhood of this city, penetrating into the ambitious projects of the Afghan, he saw his determination to overrun Persia, and in order to check his progress strongly fortified the upper part of the city.

Candahar, could, within so short a time, return to Kirman, much less thought or even suspected that he would approach Isfahan, besiege it, take the Shah's person, and ascend the throne. He, however, only intended to make an inroad during the winter into the environs of Isfahan; and that in the first place the Afghans should acquire great spoil, terrify the population of Persia by their depredations, and when these wished to attack the Afghans in the neighbourhood of Kirman in the following summer, they should be unable to collect provisions, and that the Afghans, who by that time would have reduced Kirman, should carry into that fortress the whole of the harvest. It was, moreover, his intention then to supply the garrison with every necessary means for resisting the Persians, in order that his followers might make Kirman a refuge from whence they might more easily execute all their projects; and it was with this understanding, to establish a footing for themselves, that they agreed to the division of the army, and to harass from thence the neighbourhoods of Shiraz, Lars, and Isfahan.

MARCH OF MAHMOOD FROM KIRMAN; AND THE MISSION OF THE KHAN OF AHWAS* BY THE SHAH, TO RECONNOITRE THE MOVEMENTS OF MAHMOOD; AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE PERSIAN ARMY FROM ISFAHAN.

After the intelligence was brought to the Shah and

* This officer is called by Hanway, Abdallah Khan, Vali of Arabia, and by Du Cerceau, in his translation of Krusinski, Machmet Wali,

his ministers, that Mahmood had undertaken the seige of Kirman, an army of about eight thousand Persians was collected, and the Khan of Ahwas was despatched with five thousand men in the direction of Kirman, in order to gain exact intelligence of the state of the Afghans; and was directed to take post in some place of safety within the boundaries of that province, advantageously situated for this purpose. He was to remain there; and in case of wanting support, was to expect a large army from Isfahan.

When the troops under the Khan of Ahwas were informed that Mahmood was advancing from Kirman with a strong force, and marching rapidly on Isfahan, they were afraid to remain either where they were or oppose him; but returning to the capital with this intelligence, reported what was contemplated.

LEVY OF TROOPS TO OPPOSE MAHMOOD.

When this melancholy news reached the ears of the Shah and his ministers, and was made known throughout the city, every body was struck with terror, and a levy of troops was immediately begun; but as all were doubtful of the issue, none were willing to enlist in such an army. One thing rose for deliberation after another; but by drawing large sums from the trea-

Prince of Hucvuza. The latter makes an extraordinary assertion; for after stating that the Khan's territories were a part of Arabia, he informs us that they border on those of the Huzaras! Ahwas being the chief town of Khusistan, long. 48° E., and the Huzaras occupying the country in the N.E. of Khorasan, from 68° eastward!

sury, within ten days a sufficient number of men was collected, and marched without delay from Isfahan. Camps were pitched at Julnabad, about four hours from the capital. The Etimad-Dowlet commanded forty or fifty thousand men, the Khan of Ahwas a numerous force, and many other Khans and Begs were in command of large bodies. All seemed astonished. Vaunting, however, in their strength, and deceived by their specious numbers, they panted for the arrival of the Afghans; and thinking it impossible that they could be defeated, or that troops harassed by a long march could resist the powerful and valiant Persian army, exclaimed, "It is impossible that any of the enemy can escape our strong hands;" and used many boastful songs and sayings. The Khan of Ahwas, in a similar strain, declared to the Shah, "I will take Mahmood alive, and bring this worthless fellow into your presence; if he flees towards Candahar, he shall not escape; if he turns towards the Turks, following him on swift Arab horses, even there he shall not be protected from my right hand;" and made many other boasts of his own prowess.

ARRIVAL OF MAHMOOD IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF ISFAHAN, AND DELIBERATION OF THE PERSIANS ABOUT THE METHOD OF ATTACKING HIM.

After a lapse of two days, Mahmood, arriving with his army within two hours march of the Persians, pitched his camp opposite them. The Shah's Generals disagreed in their consultations. Some said, "Let us

raise ramparts, fortify our camp, and not march out against them, but wait their attack; if, however, they should not assault us, and go towards Isfahan, we will follow; the inhabitants of the capital will then sally out, and thus we hope everything will be easily accomplished; in short, it is solely our duty to remain in our encampment, so that we may take advantage of the sallies of the citizens to surround them; and thus within short time their supplies being cut off, and all escape being precluded by us in their rear, no one will be able to escape from our hands." Others, however, not approving of this advice, urged the glory that might be acquired by adopting the contrary plan: "Indeed," said they, "by erecting ramparts against the inhabitants of the Indian gardens, we shall tarnish our ancient renown, and sully the fame of the empire; on the other hand, if we go out against them to open battle, they will not be able to resist us. All the army is composed of sons of cowards, and when they perceive our brave onset, they will betake themselves to flight, and we trust they will not be able to retrace the route by which they came."

BATTLE OF THE PERSIANS AND AFGHANS, WHEREIN THE FORMER WERE DEFEATED.

The latter opinions prevailing, they decided on giving the enemy battle, and desired the astrologers to point out the fortunate hour. Sunday, at noon, (May 8th, 1724,) was predicted by them as the time when a successful engagement might be fought. In

the meantime the Persians were informed that auxiliary forces would march out to them; but their arrival was unwished for, lest they should partake in the anticipated glory; nor was it thought advisable to delay the battle. On the day appointed, therefore, at noon, Mirza Roostoom, the commander of the household troops, began the engagement in a bold and determined attack on the Afghans. He commanded, besides his Persian soldiers and private domestics, four hundred picked Georgians. Ally Murdan Khan, also, with five hundred chosen men and the remaining servants of the Princes and Generals, suddenly rushed on, and the flames of war raged violently. The Persians at first fought with such determination that one wing of the enemy was completely routed; and the Khan of Ahwas, perceiving that part of their army in disorder, directly attacked the Afghan camp with his Arabs, and pillaged it, according to report, of twelve thousand tomans. Mahmood, exceedingly disquieted at heart at the ruinous aspect of the battle, meditated flight; but the commanders of the Afghan right and left wings, Aman Alla, and Nasir Alla, hastened to him, and repeating various passages of the Koran and prophets, forcibly restrained the progress of his horse. When the spirit of the leader of the centre of the army was a little composed, he roused the courage of his troops, bravely attacked the Persians, and all inspired with the hope of safety and deliverance from danger, not knowing how to find any other remedy, endured the brunt of

the battle. In the meanwhile, a division of the Afghans suddenly attacked the Persian General, who was unable to resist, and forced to give ground.* The courage of the rebels, however, was most raised by the flight of the musketeers, which the Persian army also observing, turned their backs. The household troops, whom their commander Murza Roostoom had so bravely led, gave themselves likewise to flight, and their camp was plundered by the Afghans. The Arabs also perceiving their route, threw away their arms; their leader, the Khan of Ahwas, enraged with this desertion, fled hastily with the gold he had taken. When the commandant of the Artillery fell, in the beginning of the battle, his men, broken in courage, were evidently unused to the service of their guns; on which account the Afghans, as if raised from the dead, again routed the Persians, who offered a vain resistance. They slew Mirza Roostoom himself, his son, and the brother of Ally Murdan; the Afghans under Mehmed Nischan, pursued the Georgians, and put them to an ignominious death.

CAPTURE OF THE PERSIAN CAMP.

The Afghans thus gained this victory, the issue of

* Du Cerceau places the whole disgrace incurred by the loss of this battle, on the Etimad-Dowlet, who, according to him, turned his back on the enemy, without ever striking a blow. He attributes this conduct to his jealousy of the Khan of Ahwas, who, he was afraid, would acquire the whole credit of gaining the day, by storming the Afghan camp.

which had long remained doubtful, like the ebb and flow of the main, either side in turns attacking and then receding. About half-an-hour after star-rise, they employed a stratagem. The hour of rest approaching, perceiving the military stores of the Persians unguarded, they quietly returned to their own camp; and two hours after, again entering the encampment, took every one in it without resistance, and found there twenty-five pieces of artillery, besides immense quantities of ammunition, and twenty-five thousand tomans of coined silver, of which they took possession.

All that had hitherto occurred, was not the result of deliberation, but accident, so that at this period the Afghans had not determined on besieging Isfahan; they therefore neither examined the guns, nor removed them, but only transported the ammunition and treasure to their own camp; and having effected their purpose, were desirous of returning to Candahar. I refrain from narrating the sad and ominous circumstances which befell Isfahan, as they may be easily imagined.

In the meanwhile, the Afghans needing rest, and time to recover themselves, stationed guards in every avenue, that all egress from the city might be prevented; and cut off the supplies by picquets, posted in all the roads.

DELIBERATION OF THE AFGHANS TO RETURN TO KIRMAN.

Subsequently to the battle, none of the Afghans were seen by the Persians in the neighbourhood of Isfahan; but the leaders having called the army together to deliberate on their affairs, some of them persuaded them to return to Kirman with the riches and glory they had acquired. "Perhaps," said they, "on our arrival the citadel may have fallen; if not, we will endeavour to take it, in order that we may thenceforward reside in a fortified place, and by carrying in our treasure and ammunition, may be able to depopulate the surrounding country. We ought not, however, to carry the guns away with us, for such a step would be impolitic, since the lightness of our baggage is essential to the rapidity of our movements; because the Persians, when they gain intelligence of our departure, will most assuredly not neglect to pursue us immediately, and press forward in our steps." This advice pleased all the Afghans, who having collected all their moveables, left nine thousand men behind, to make a feigned attack on Isfahan, not only to protect their retreat, but afterwards by effecting a junction with the main army to cover their rear.

SECOND MISSION OF THE KHAN OF AHWAS TO RECONNOITRE THE AFGHANS.

But in these disastrous days, when the Persians saw some of the Afghans in the neighbourhood of

Isfahan, they were surprised, and imagined they had retreated with their booty; the Khan of Ahwas was consequently despatched one dark night from the city, with a detachment of Arabs and Persians, to reconnoitre. Arriving near the enemy's camp, he discovered all their stores had been removed, the guns only left, and all within the encampment quiet. He therefore immediately ordered the artillery to be carried to Isfahan, and reported the Afghan's camp remained in its original state, adding: "Our dissensions have inspired the Afghans with courage, and as they evince no signs of entirely departing with their booty, it appears that they are about to besiege Isfahan." At this the whole council was again alarmed; but seeing nothing of the foe for eight days after, they were tranquillized, and began to fortify their city in every way they possibly could, by levying forces, and expecting from the provinces the troops which they had written for. They stored the capital with provisions for a siege; and persuading themselves that God would be a sufficient protection, and that the rebels had only intended to ravage the neighbourhood of Isfahan and Julfa, calmed their apprehensions.

THE KHAN OF AHWAS SENDS A LETTER TO THE AFGHANS.

Shah Hoossein, to ward off the impending danger, called the Khan of Ahwas, and ordered him to write a letter to Mahmood, pretending to treat for peace without the monarch's knowledge, and as if emanating

from himself. In obedience to this command, he wrote to the Afghan, apparently without the royal cognizance, of his own free will, in these words: "Now that you have acquired such renown in so many victories, it does not appear to me incongruous, that contented with this, you should return to your own country with the spoils you have taken. It may be that Fortune will not always respond to your wishes, by wafting the breezes of Victory towards your standard. I myself profess the same religion as you do; and therefore owe you good will. Influenced by that feeling, I am anxious of rendering you an important service. Therefore I will ensure that no army shall be sent against you, for peace seems most desirable; that the independent government of Candahar shall be ceded to you in perpetuity, according to your wish, and that you shall, in addition, receive a sum of money from the Shah. If you intend to follow my advice, and return to your country, deliver an answer to the bearer of this letter, whom I wish you to send back, and I will take care that all I have promised you shall be performed. However, beware of imagining that the arrow of your projects will always hit its aim."

THE AFGHANS RELINQUISH THEIR INTENTION OF RETURNING INTO CARAMANIA, AND DETERMINE TO BESIEGE ISFAHAN.

The Afghans had already commenced their retreat when this letter was unexpectedly brought to Mahmood, who, having summoned his officers, read it to

them in a distinct tone; they, on hearing it, suspecting no craft, considered it as an indisputable sign of the Persian cowardice, and altered their determination of returning. Deliberating on the contents of the letter, some voted that this proposition should not be rejected, and that it ought to be ratified in a proper manner; but most dissented from this advice, saying, "It appears, by that letter, that the panic and weakness of the Persians is excessive; let us therefore dismiss all thought of returning, and attempt some other achievement, for this opportunity is held out to us by God." Going to Miangi, who had been Mahmood's preceptor, they asked his advice, which he gave in the following words: "You cannot be ignorant that the Persians are devoid of compassion and honour, and that no confidence can be placed either in their treaties or oaths. If they really desire peace, they must promise by written covenants that the region of Candahar shall be free and independent; that they entirely cede the Huzaras and Bulochees, who are implicated in the war; and that Shah Hoossein will give one of his daughters in marriage to Mahmood, instead of whose dowry, that district shall be conferred on the bridegroom. On these conditions being agreed to, all discord will be laid aside, and mutual friendship established." Every one approving of this opinion, they sent a letter to this effect by the messenger, which the nobles of the council having read, laid the purport of it before the Shah; he was not a little astonished, and looking earnestly at them, requested

their opinions. They were willing to concede everything but the daughter; "If," said they, "the daughter of the Shah is given in marriage to a subject he will be the talk of all the kingdoms and nations in the world; our reputation will be lost, and death itself is preferable to this disgrace. Let us take courage to maintain our honour; we will call in our troops, fortify the city with ditches, and defend it in every way; we will receive the inhabitants of Farhabad, and other places, within the walls, and make use of their services, nor shall we be in want of a brave and numerous army. If we hold out for any length of time, the Afghans will be forced to raise the siege for want of provisions." An answer was accordingly returned that the Shah did not reject the rest of the demands, but could not, on account of the difference of religion, give his daughter to a subject, and contract relationship with him. When the Afghans received this contemptuous and scornful letter, driven to madness by the insult, they determined shortly to devastate the suburbs of Isfahan with fire and sword, and in this way obtain their demands; if the daughter were withheld, yet they would extort the punctual fulfilment of the other conditions; should things not succeed in this way, then they could return to Kirman. All the Afghans agreeing in this opinion, foragers and skirmishers were immediately despatched into the vicinity of the capital.

CONCERNING THE EVENTS AT FARHABAD.

When the Afghans learned that the Persians had abandoned Farhabad, and left five pieces of artillery hidden in the earth, they sent spies, who discovered that Farhabad was a fortress, situated without the limits of Isfahan, surrounded with walls, and wide moats, among vineyards and gardens, like Paradise, adorned with various trees and flowers, fish-ponds and lakes; that it abounded in palaces and houses; and was in every way incomparable and extensive, resembling the place promised to those who fight in the defence of their religion. Transferring their camp thither, they hoped a rich booty was decreed them by fate; and according to the passage in the Koran, "Enter with an axe," they speedily strewed their camp with heaps of dead bodies, and removing to that most magnificent fortress, abode there, and fortifying it still more by widening the ditches, gathered courage. They posted sentinels within and without, giving it, as it were, a new appearance, and carried in provisions with all diligence. (March 19, 1722.)*

ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT JULFA.

Julfa is a large city, between which and Isfahan

* Our author compares this lovely spot to the celebrated hanging gardens of Shedah, called Irem. His expressions are "giennet misal," like Paradise; and "Irem dsat elumad," the column-supported Irem.

flows the river Zenderoud,* and inhabited by Armenians. Directly the Persians saw the Afghans had taken possession of Farhabad, they sent an order to the inhabitants of Julfa, that all the armed Armenians were to proceed to Isfahan to guard the Shah's palace, as the household troops were to attack the Afghans, and fortify Julfa with ramparts. Not suspecting any deceit, and immediately obeying the order, all the armed citizens went to the capital; but the artful Persians stripped them of their arms, and sent them back without despatching any troops for the defence of their city. As if Providence designed to punish a deceitful and merciless nation, all their councils failed of a prosperous issue. At this time also, they feared that if the Armenians were entrusted with weapons, burning with affection for their kindred, they would join the Afghans, and turn their arms against Persia; for which reason they suspected the Afghans would most certainly take Julfa, and they themselves, unable to repel the foe, could not remain masters of the town. As the Armenians possessed great wealth, gems, and a large quantity of valuable commodities, the Persians said, "The Afghans will depart satisfied with the spoils of Julfa, when our army pursuing them may recapture the spoils; should this be impossible, we will then dissemble, and give them money, and thus enriched they may have a motive for desiring to return to their country."

The Afghans attacked Julfa for a whole night, and the inhabitants defending themselves bravely, as they

* The living river.

formed a large force of themselves, sent a message to the Shah praying for assistance; and though this was deceitfully promised them, the Persians neither came to their relief nor sent them back their arms; at length, deprived of all hope, and seeing the malevolence of the Persians, they unwillingly surrendered, (March 20th). The Afghans demanded from the Armenians fifty richly dressed maidens, and seventy thousand tomans to pay their troops. Unable to oppose these demands, the girls were led, despite their resistance, to the camp of Mahmood, decked with gems, pearls, and magnificent dresses; but as it was difficult to collect so large a sum of money, the Armenians, at a meeting of their elders and principal men, agreed on the necessity of alleging some excuse for its not being immediately paid. "Since," argued they, "the Afghans will not always remain here, but depart either by compulsion or of their own accord, at some time or other, the Persians, in that case, will torment us with a hundred annoyances besides our loss of wealth." Pretending, therefore, that the collection of that sum was impracticable, as they had carried the greatest part of their riches to Isfahan, they gave a bill under their hands for its ample liquidation on the capture of that city.

BEGINNING OF THE SIEGE OF ISFAHAN FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF JULFA.

During the day the Afghans, entering the houses of the rich, took great spoils, but did not molest the poor, or plunder the churches, or kill a single individual.

As the following day (March 21st.) was Nowroze, or the commencement of the new year, regarding that as a favourable omen of victory, they commenced the siege of Isfahan on the Julfa side. It being necessary to cross the intervening river, they attached camels to boats, and thus transported their artillery; but the attack was like boys' play, for rarely any fell, either by matchlock or cannon; weary with this imbecile warfare, they contented themselves with blockading the city from Julfa to Farhabad.

DEFEAT OF THE AFGHANS IN THE ATTACK ON THE BRIDGE OF SHIRAZ.

In this state, the Afghans one day (March 23rd) attacked the bridge of Shiraz, when a large body of Persians suddenly advanced to repel them; and as it could not easily be taken, and many were killed, the rest of the assailants retreating, remained quiet for some days. Shortly after, a number of them again rushed forward to occupy the bridge; some seized pieces of wood instead of shields, others doors, many the window shutters, and swimming across the water, would have succeeded in capturing it, had not twelve guns been placed for its defence, when a German, * who was one of the Persian gunners, perceiving the charge of the Afghans, boldly fired a volley of canister shot on their advance, by which many were killed; the rest retreated to Farhabad. A Persian officer, named Ahmed Agha, to whom the defence of the

* The celebrated Jacoup Charpentier of Courland.

bridge was entrusted, a brave and daring man, though never before in battle, then pursued them. The Afghans lost many of their choicest troops, and were reduced to such straits, that had he been properly supported, the Persians would have indubitably avenged the loss of their forces near Julnabad, since the Afghans were never before defeated with the slaughter of so many men; but he was forced to return to his post, in despair of support.

THE AFGHANS DESIRE TO CONCLUDE PEACE.

The more prudent of the Afghans, therefore, going to Mahmood, grieved at the rejection of the peace offered at Julnabad, said,—"The best part of our army is destroyed, our horses have perished with hunger, and our condition is most deplorable; therefore, we ought to seriously consider the means of obtaining peace." The wisest and most influential Armenians were called, and requested to communicate to the Persians, that if they were desirous of peace, on the same terms as those offered at Julnabad, the Afghans would not reject them, and thus the besieged would be delivered from any further molestation. The Armenians, however, deliberating, considered that peace ought not to be concluded through their mediation, and were afraid lest their nation should be placed between two swords; for if the pacification was thus effected, they would not only have to liquidate the sum they had given the bond for to the Afghans, but also have the wealth they had carried to Isfahan ex-

torted from them by the Persians, after the besiegers had retired. "Therefore," said they, "we ought not to interfere in their affairs; in whatever condition they may be, they must see to it themselves: between two evils this is the least; for if we assist the Persians, we may put the besiegers to flight, and pursue them; thus the Persians, not offended at us, will return our wealth, and we shall save the money due to the enemy." They therefore determined to procrastinate the negociation.

MESSAGE OF THE KHAN OF AHWAS TO THE AFGHANS, AND THE REJECTION OF PEACE.

Whilst the panic-struck Afghans were holding councils in every part of the camp, ignorant of what they ought to do, or which way to turn, a messenger from the Khan of Ahwas secretly arrived, with the following communication:—"I am your friend; attend to your own affairs, and cast aside all fear, for I am your partisan; your wishes in a short time will be realised, for Isfahan is in such a state that it may be easily taken;" and minutely acquainting the Afghans with particulars, he effectually cheered their spirits. The reason for this action was, that the Khan was in religion a Soonee; and though he had hitherto been faithful to his sovereign, yet he had been insulted in various ways by the ministers, as he knew that the Etimad-Dowlet, of the same sect as himself, had been deprived of sight; moreover, that he only received fifty tomans a day from the royal treasury, under the

pretext of his being poor, and that he longed for the arrival of some foreign power; for this reason, he dissuaded them from peace.

PREPARATIONS OF THE AFGHANS FOR THE SIEGE.

When the Afghans learned the condition of the Persians from the Khan of Ahwas, they determined on taking the town, as they believed that neither peace nor safe return to their country could be procured in any other way. For two months they slew no one, unless attacked, nor wearied themselves, but remained quiet, only fortifying their camp on the side opposite Isfahan. Envoys, for the negociation of peace, arrived from all quarters; and the Shah, in the meantime, trusting to the arrival of aid from the provinces, beguiled the Afghans with fair words; the latter, during these two months, spread themselves more freely throughout the surrounding country to pillage, and captured many of the neighbouring towns.

THE KHAN OF AHWAS SENT BY THE SHAH TO NEGOTIATE PEACE.

The Shah having in vain expected relief, and perceiving the strength of the Afghans daily encreasing, considered peace necessary; he therefore sent the Khan of Ahwas to negotiate it. He, adverse to its conclusion, used this opportunity to attend to his own affairs, by interchanging tokens of amity with the Afghans, instead of promoting the objects of his

mission to the utmost, and on his return raised various difficulties to the Shah.

ATTACK ON THE BRIDGE ABASABAD, AND SIEGE OF THE WHOLE CITY.

In the beginning of the third month, (May) the Afghans recommenced hostilities, and unexpectedly attacked the bridge Abasabad one morning, and took it, entirely destroying the Georgians * posted for its defence; and moving their army nearer, invested Isfahan on all sides, intercepting the roads.

MARCH OF PERSIAN REINFORCEMENTS TO ISFAHAN, AND THE DEFEAT OF THE BROTHER OF ALLY MURDAN KHAN.

When the news of the siege was carried over the whole country, great fear seized the hearts of the Persians; and when the intelligence of the capture of the bridge Abasabad was known, they considered that relief ought to be afforded to the city, as the Persians had now contended with the Afghans for twelve months, and been often defeated for want of a good general. Ally Murdan Khan, a prudent and able commander, levying five thousand men, and collecting large quantities of supplies to send to Isfahan, placed them in a convenient position; and while he himself undertook to raise a larger army, gave his brother the command, telling him that when he re-

* These troops were mostly intoxicated, consequently the assailants easily passed the river.—HANWAY.

joined, he would advance and force a passage, by which he might safely enter the city. His brother, however, giving too much credence to false reports, would not await his arrival, but marched precipitately forward to Isfahan with the supplies. The Afghans, gaining intelligence of his movements, threw themselves into his road, and defeated him after a severe battle, in which many nobles were slain; he saved himself with difficulty, and the supplies fell into the enemy's hands. This news reaching the ears of Ally Murdan, * that noble was deterred from marching towards Isfahan; and since the only hope of the people was placed in him, all were struck with terror and amazement, when this was reported in the capital.

THE INHABITANTS OF BEN ISFAHAN ATTACK THE AFGHANS, AND RECAPTURE THE SUPPLIES.

The Afghans, desirous of transporting the spoils of the routed Persians to their own camp, sent several troops to escort it. The inhabitants of Ben Isfahan, which is a very thriving place, about an hour's march from the capital, having collected an army, sallying out of their town, which was fortified with fosses and ramparts, attacked the Afghans, and recapturing all

* Ally Murdan Khan was Vali of Loristan, and had been banished through the intrigues of his brother to Kirman; served nobly at Julnabad; and was preparing to relieve Isfahan, when he was defeated through the ambition of his younger brother, whom he afterwards sacrificed to his own and the public vengeance.—HANWAY.

their booty, threw it into Isfahan, and killed many of the enemy.

MAHMOOD DEFEATED BY THE INHABITANTS OF BEN ISFAHAN.

Mahmood heard this with grief and astonishment, and selecting his troops, set out to attack that town; but the people offering determined resistance, at length defeated the Afghans again with great slaughter, and captured many. Mahmood was doubly grieved at this discomfiture, as some of his relatives were among the prisoners.

SLAUGHTER OF THE CAPTIVE AFGHANS, AND DETERMINATION OF THAT PEOPLE TO TAKE REVENGE.

Mahmood immediately despatched a messenger to Isfahan, imploring the Shah to send strict orders to the inhabitants of Ben Isfahan, not to put their captives to death, or inflict any injury on them, for if they did, the Afghans would exercise the right of retaliation on their Persian prisoners. The Shah therefore entrusted the Mehmander Padshah,* Mirza Raki, a faithful servant, with this commission, and many of the Afghans accompanied him. On their arrival, none of

* Du Cerceau and Hanway state that the Afghans had first promised to spare the lives of those prisoners who fell into their hands on the defeat of Ally Murdan Khan's army, and when they had laid down their arms, put every one of them to death; and that the inhabitants of Ben Isfahan, in retaliation for their perfidy, treated their captives in the manner that the Mehmander, or officer who had the charge of the Shah's guests, witnessed.

the captives were alive, all being either impaled, or burnt with torches; among them were the younger brother of Mahmood, his uncle, and his cousin. Alarmed at this spectacle, they instantly returned, and related to Mahmood and their countrymen what they had witnessed. At this their hearts were inflamed with revenge, they raged like the sea; no longer uttering words of peace, thirsting for vengeance, they swore on the Koran, never in future to spare the life of a single captive. Observing this oath, they impaled all their Persian captives of all ranks before the eyes of their countrymen. The Christians, Jews, and Magi hearing this, with one accord expressed their approbation of its justice.

ASSISTANCE IMPLORED FROM VACHTAN KHAN.

As Ally Murdan Khan had been defeated at the battle of Julnabad, and again, when he would have relieved Isfahan had lost five thousand men through the precipitancy of his brother, and the small band he still commanded would be easily routed, the terrified Persians imagined that no chance of relief was left, except what they could obtain from the Prince of Georgia. The Shah therefore sent him a letter of apology for his former conduct, when Vachtanga was at variance with the Lezgees, promising him many handsome rewards, persuading him vehemently to revenge his brother Khoosrow, who had been slain by the Afghans, and exhorted him to relieve Isfahan. When the bearer of this letter arrived, Vachtan Khan

remembering his oath not to unsheath his sword against the enemies of Persia, refused his assistance,* by which answer every hope was precluded.

HISTORY OF TAHMASP THE SHAH'S SON.

The Persians again consulting, decided on sending Tahmasp from the city, saying, "The cause of the defeat of all our armies is the want of Generals; but if Tahmasp, the son of the Shah, is sent out, the people on seeing him, and hearing that he is in the field, will flock to him from all quarters; thus he will be able to transmit us reinforcements and supplies, and come himself to our relief." One dark night, therefore, he passed safely through the midst of the Afghans, with eight hundred Kajars. Though he traversed the kingdom from one frontier to another, the people were disinclined to enter the army, as the one formerly raised among the inhabitants of Kirman, Loristan, and the neighbouring provinces, had been defeated. Moreover, the Koords pretended to return to their chiefs for the defence of their own country on the Turkish frontiers, "for fear," they urged, "being absent, that portion of the Koords, who are allied to the Turks should seize the opportunity of pillaging." The Persian inhabitants of Sheerwan were also alarmed at the con-

* This desertion of his Sovereign in the hour of distress, as heartless as disloyal, was a few years after punished; for in 1725, the Turks invading Georgia, drove him to take refuge at the Court of St. Petersburg, where he subsequently died an exile from the land of his fathers.

tinued eruption of the Lezgees, otherwise they would have followed Tahmasp to the relief of Isfahan. He, however, succeeded in raising eight thousand men at Casween, but pressed with many difficulties in leading them to Isfahan, he consulted with his officers; but their minds were in continual doubt of the liberation of Persia from the whirlpool of its dreadful calamities, as it had been exposed for a long time to the horrors of war, to which they were averse, and the prospects of Isfahan were still unaltered. For this reason they wished Tahmasp to abandon an enterprize so difficult and pregnant with hazard, and to defer his attempt to relieve the capital. "We," argued they, "should bring our army into a better condition, collect supplies, and levy more troops; for it is not likely that the Afghans will soon capture Isfahan, or that they will remain after they have finished their pillage, when pursuing them we may rescue all their booty." Thus they endeavour to entice Tahmasp to commit an act of imprudence and negligence; and to impress this opinion more decidedly on him, they said a few days after: "If we return to Isfahan with such a force as may attack and conquer the Afghans, as is most probable we shall, the heads of the Shah and his ministers being again raised, they may cast thee, as they have done Mirza Sooliman, and Mirza Suffee, into prison." By such persuasions they endeavoured to divert him from his purpose.

HISTORY OF MIRZA SOOLIMAN AND MIRZA SUFFEE.*

When the siege had been long protracted, and its concomitant evils daily increased, the Shah would not leave his palace, as was his custom, or interest himself either in the civil or military affairs of the people, and the want of prudence in the ministers became most apparent. At length the Persians unanimously electing Mirza Sooliman, Viceroy, placed him on the throne; who accommodating himself to the times, used severity tempered with mildness, and attended day and night to the affairs of all classes. Eleven days after they tore him from the throne as an unjust impostor, exclaiming, "that he wished to deprive his father of sight, by burning out his eyes with a metal plate." They gave his brother Mirza Suffee the reins of government. This prince was eminently qualified for his office, and although he paid the most diligent attention for some months to the public affairs, yet through some fate inimical to Persia, he was attacked by a dangerous disease. Despairing of his convalescence, they removed him, and reinstated Shah Hoossein.

MARRIAGE OF TAHMASP IN THE CITY OF CASWEEN, AT THE INSTIGATION OF HIS DEPRAVED ADVISERS.

The advisers of Tahmasp again studied to divert him from his enterprise, saying:—"If you relieve Isfahan before its capture, the Shah and his ministers will re-

* The eldest and second son of Shah Hoossein; Tahmasp was the third.

tain their power; whereas if you go subsequently to that event, and we wrest the throne and crown from the Afghans, the Persians being then delivered by us, you will be confirmed on the throne, and we shall enjoy the appointments of the former ministry." At length inspiring him with a desire of matrimony, they prevailed on him to espouse the daughter of a Khan, and the nuptials were celebrated in the city of Casween, amid loud rejoicings, and the greatest splendor. It happened, however, that on the first night of the wedding, the intelligence of the capture of Isfahan arrived, and put an end to these festivities. The inhabitants of the capital, when the news of Tahmasp's inactivity was brought to them, lamented that he had been sent out with the Kajar troops, and imagining that he was so allured with the delights of matrimony that he never conceived a thought of coming to their relief, determined to leave the city. Unfitted for war by the daily increasing famine, they fled from Isfahan, with connivance of the Afghans. If Tahmasp, however, had been in the capital, the Persians would hardly have submitted to the inauguration of Mahmood, or that with him the Sufvee dynasty should have been expunged from the catalogue of Kings.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE HISTORY OF WONDERFUL EVENTS THAT ORIGINATED IN THE PRESSURE OF THE SIEGE AND THE RIOT AT THE PALACE.

As the siege had now been protracted for a long time, famine, and a variety of evils, succeeding each

other, were the consequences; the citizens were distracted beyond all description; and as the Shah had not left his palace for seven months, an immense crowd of all ranks rushing there one day, filled the whole place with continual groans and clamors. The monarch, unable to bear this, went out among them and demanded the desire of his servants. "You are not aware," they unanimously exclaimed, "how many persons are carried off by famine, and by what calamities we are oppressed; we earnestly desire a sight of our Shah, being ignorant of his condition; and he, not knowing how our prospects are altered, by one misfortune succeeding another, has not endeavored to find a remedy for our grievances. Be therefore at length aroused; be solicitous of our welfare; come from your palace, that our courage may be reanimated by your presence; we will then attack the Afghans, and every one of us fight gladly as long as we breathe, for it is better to fall by the enemy's sword than perish by famine." The whole concourse then burst into tears: the Shah endeavoring to soothe them with kind words, referred them to the Khan of Ahwas, and he invested him with absolute power in civil and military matters, and ordered him to attack the Afghans.

THE PERSIANS RETURN TO THE KHAN OF AHWAS.

The mob pressed tumultuously to the Khan of Ahwas, exclaiming: "Be thou our leader chosen by the Shah; following thee we will rush upon the foe bravely;" and earnestly implored him to lead them on,

but he also endeavoured to pacify them, and exhorted them to patience. "Within five days," he said, "Tahmasp, who is coming with an innumerable army, will bring you relief, and when he has joined us, we shall be able to attack the enemy with certainty of victory. I have received intelligence this very night from him." To corroborate his statement, he shewed them a letter he had himself fabricated, and for that day succeeded in dispersing the crowd. It however reassembled on the morrow, when taking omens from the flight of birds, &c., he said, "The day is inauspicious, and we shall all perish if we give them battle;" and the succeeding days he made use of similar pretexts to dissuade them from attacking the Afghans.

FRESH DISTURBANCES AT THE PALACE.

The people were unwilling to fight without the Shah under the Khan's sole command, and as the reinforcements of Tahmasp did not appear, they flocked again to the palace. Finding the gates shut, they threw a shower of large stones at them, when some of the eunuchs coming out, asked them what they wished. "We wish to know," they replied, "whether the Shah be still among the living; and under his command to attack the enemy. We all devote ourselves to his safeguard;" adding lamentations to their entreaties. But when these were unheeded, and the Shah did not make his appearance, they would not be repulsed by any means, and called for their

monarch with unceasing clamours, saying—"We perish with hunger; the Khan of Ahwas meditates some treachery; for God's sake, therefore, come and defend your slaves!—we are all pledged to meet death in war for thee; we will attack the foe, and if conquerors shall be free!" When they pertinaciously insisted on seeing him, the armed troops within the palace endeavoured to disperse them, fired on them, and killed several persons in the crowd; the rest, thus discouraged, despaired of obtaining redress from their sovereign, and determined on leaving Isfahan.

HISTORY OF AHMED AGHA.

It has been recorded above, how this brave and strenuous hero, by defending the bridge of Shiraz, chiefly by his own courage became known to the army. Pressed by want and famine, the mob went to him, in hopes of obtaining provisions by his agency, when he, to repulse the attack of the soldiers, sent them to the royal kitchen: "Go," said he, "and take whatever you can find there, and trust that God will send you other sustenance to-morrow." A large body, therefore, by some means, opened a way to the kitchen, and seized all the provisions they found. When upbraided by the Shah, who was enraged with him for this order, he answered he had not done it only in the hope of saving himself from being hung by the rioters, but that the Shah's ministers might understand, by one hungry night, the miseries by which so many were afflicted through continual want. The

monarch was appeased by this reply, and calmly said his act was perfectly just. Ahmed was informed by letter that a body of troops were intrenched in a fortified town in the neighbourhood, with a quantity of provisions, but durst not enter the city, which it might do if an opportunity were afforded it. Immediately informing the Khan of Ahwas of the circumstance, he said, "Let us sally out, pass through the Afghan camp, near the gardens, and bring in the supplies." The Khan agreeing to this proposition, went with him; Ahmed leading the advance, bravely attacked the Afghans, but the Khan of Ahwas, who commanded the rear, instead of supporting, deserted him; consequently, the best troops of Ahmed were cut up, and he hardly saved himself by flight. The Shah, hearing of this affair, called Ahmed Agha, and reprimanded him sharply for having attacked the Afghans without the orders of the Khan of Ahwas. He, to exculpate himself, said, "The Khan is your enemy: if he had supported me the victory was certain, and the supplies might have been brought in. It is evident he is plotting some treachery, for while he saw me striving at a distance, he refused me his aid, and forbade others to come to my assistance. But since, O most gracious sovereign, thou canst not discern between friends and enemies, I swear, by God, I will no longer go out against the foe; but if the Afghans endeavour to dethrone my lord, and tread him under foot, girding on my sword, I will cheerfully part with life, and prostrate at his feet devote myself to the ser-

vice of my king." Having thus expressed his sentiments, he went home, and as his noble spirit could not brook these reprimands, he poisoned himself, exclaiming that the Shah could not discern between the good and the bad, his faithful servants from traitors, nor see into the merits of men, on account of the imbecility of his mind. When the army heard of his melancholy end, they cast aside all hopes of safety.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMINE IN ISFAHAN.

During the three first months of the siege,* meat, bread, and other provisions, were abundant in all the markets; at the end of that period the flesh of camels, horses and asses, was vended. A horse for slaughter was sold for 12 tomans (£30), and some days after, 25 (£62. 10s.), but the price subsequently increased. An ass was valued at six (£15). These being soon consumed they began to eat the flesh of cats and dogs, till no others were to be found in Isfahan. One day, as I was going from the French to the English ambassador's palace, seeing a famished woman holding a cat in her hand, which she was desirous of killing, I helped her to slay it, though unwillingly, as her hands were lacerated by its claws, and she was unable to master it. Four months after,† they began to sell and eat human flesh; for instance, I saw the heads of five butchers laid on a large stone and pounded. They afterwards ate the intestines of the corpses, with which the streets were full. Though these things, in my opinion,

* Till the end of May. † In September.

happened by the Divine ordinance, yet I make no doubt that they were occasioned by want of prudence, and the dissensions of the nobles and people; and it is astonishing that the inhabitants of Isfahan bought every day only sufficient bread and meat to last the four-and-twenty hours as other persons not placed in their trying situation would, and did not lay in a stock of provisions in their own houses to last two months. They also, in this state, admitted into the city the neighbouring inhabitants, who were destitute of sustenance, and unconcerned about the siege, did not look forward in time to their own stores of food; for, from the time when Farhabad was seized, until the bridge Abasabad was taken by the Afghans, the country was open to them for three months; and yet they did not send away the women and children, who were unfit for war, before they were surrounded by the troops. The gates, which had hitherto been unclosed, they hoped would continue so; and dancing and singing light-heartedly, feared no unfavourable termination to the siege. The French ambassador, then resident in the city, one day, while visiting the Etimad-Dowlet, seized an opportunity that presented itself, of advising him to provide food, and send away the useless people, lest he might at length repent of not having done so. But when the ambassador would have awakened him to a sense of its necessity, the minister boastfully answered,—"Oh! we have sufficient stores to last us for years;" and easily believed every one who expressed the same opinions as himself.

For some time they were destitute of wheat, barley, rice, and every other kind of grain; the leaves and bark of trees were sold at an equal price with cinnamon; these, dried in the air, and mixed with chaff, were then worth eleven tomans the four ounces. * They also prepared various herbs and roots, and ate dried skins, and the soles of old shoes soaked in water. These being expended, the people were dispersed in in the streets; married and unmarried women, who had hitherto been secluded, came out adorned with gems and pearls, clamouring in vain for bread; but no one desired their jewels, or was able to give them food in exchange for them, until they fell at length exhausted and wailing to the earth, and expired. The bodies were cast away unburied, and the river was everywhere full to the brink with them. The people, in this horrible condition, were no longer themselves, and with their hearts immersed in the abyss of sorrow, were seized with vertigo.

A certain nobleman, seeing this distress, and knowing most certainly that his children, relations, and servants were involved in the same calamity, invited them all to supper, after having bought some pounds of meat with the remaining portion of his wealth. With this he mixed some Indian poison, saying, "This is the last meal remaining for you, and ye may be inevitably involved in equal misery with others." He thus perished with all in his house. The stupendous power of divine Providence, by which a blind beggar

* £110 per sixteen ounces.

was preserved through the siege, is also deserving of notice; this man was known to me before its commencement, and I again saw him after its conclusion.

STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN AMBASSADORS DURING THE SIEGE.

The Christian ambassadors took the precaution of storing themselves in time with all the necessaries of life in abundance, such as wheat, flour, sugar, pease, and smoke-dried meat, lest they should be in want. For the first three months they ate fresh meat, and as long as the gates were open, provided themselves well with all other requisites from the country; but when these were closed, they also shut up their palaces, and abstained from intercourse with every one, keeping under guard day and night. Mahmood, knowing that they had provisions, exhorted them not to sell anything to the citizens.

NUMBER OF THOSE WHO PERISHED BY THE SWORD AND FAMINE.

Persons who are born and educated in cities, and have never been in battle, or witnessed a siege, those brought up in luxury, and other inexperienced men, easily credit and exaggerate some accounts which exceed belief. The number of strangers, besides the resident inhabitants and troops, was like the sands on the sea-shore. However it seems to be near the truth, that about twenty thousand Persians perished

in battle; but with regard to those who died of famine, it is better to be silent, for it would be impossible to count them, though at a moderate calculation they must have been a hundred thousand.

THE SHAH RESIGNS THE THRONE TO MAHMOOD; THE OCCUPATION OF ISFAHAN, AND WHAT FURTHER TRANSPIRED BETWEEN THE AFGHANS AND PERSIANS.

Mahmood, when he received full information of the state of Isfahan, was unwilling to assault it with much impetuosity, as he no longer doubted its reduction; he therefore withdrew his troops to some distance, in order that the city might be preserved from utter ruin, and having summoned his officers, ordered them not to attack the Persians. Two days after, when the wretched condition of the besieged was known to all ranks of the Afghans, they requested permission to storm the town, and they persisted in their demands so obstinately, that it was with the utmost difficulty that Mahmood and Miangi were able to restrain their ardour, or send them back to their posts; for he was afraid not only of their seizing all the plunder of the city, but also of their being defeated, as they were worn out with the labours of the siege. There being a deficiency of all the necessaries of life even in the palace, the Shah was at length aroused from the sleep of negligence, as no prospect remained of obtaining any fresh supplies. Perceiving this miserable state of affairs, the monarch laid aside his splendid robes, and put on mourning; and weep-

ing, took leave of all his ministers, and household. Having left the palace, and seeing on every side want, and hideous carnage, he was moved to commiseration, and his eyes shed torrents of tears. At times using kind words, and at others harsh, he said,—"Oh! my companions in this sea of misery, who are for my sake exposed to these calamities, towards whom the fire of love burns in my bosom, we have fallen into these troubles by the judgment of God, which is alike inevitable and immutable. With our own hands have we destroyed the foundations of the Empire; we have not gratefully acknowledged the Divine beneficence, by which such unnumbered blessings were showered on us; we have drawn our enemies upon us by our dissensions; we have, by our own imprudence, betrayed our wealth into the hands of others, through the weakness of our counsels. The eternal Providence, deeming us unworthy of the throne of Persia, hath given it to another; I, as well as yourselves, am subjected to a foreign ruler; with downcast heads are we compelled to go to the new sovereign, and swear allegiance to him." Going round the city, lamenting in this way, he cried with a loud voice,—"Farewell, thou kingly throne!—farewell thou Persian Empire! thou city of Isfahan, farewell!" All ranks, from the noble to the meanest subjects, rent the skies with such groans and lamentations that they were heard as far as Julfa and the Afghan camp. In the evening the Shah and his ministers assembled in the palace to deliberate on the

capitulation of the city; and at day-break the following morning (Oct. 22nd) the Shah sent some of his trusty ministers with his most beloved daughter, most magnificently attired, to Mahmood. They returned after having performed the commission confided to them, and Mahmood had agreed to the conditions offered. Mahmood, on the following day, (Oct. 23, 1722,) sent some splendid horses for the Shah to ride, who hastened, accompanied with a few troops, to the conqueror. The latter awaited his arrival in the central hall in the palace at Farhabad, and ordered a cushion to be prepared for the fallen monarch, whilst he refused one for himself, and held a consultation with his officers. They considered that some one ought to be sent out to meet the Shah, as a mark of politeness due to Mahmood's father-in-law and the former sovereign of the Afghans; but that leader would not condescend to go to receive Hoossein, but only waited standing to receive him, whilst he sent some persons to pay him attention. The Shah arriving, saluted and embraced him, kissed his hands and eyes, and drawing a diadem from his bosom placed it on his head, and prefacing his speech with the verse,* "Oh God! the possessor of kingdoms," and similar terms, said, "The eternal Providence, my lord, has taken the throne from me and deemed you worthy of it;" and at the same time wished that he might be happy and prosperous. Then turning to his own ministers and those of Mahmood, he thus addressed them: "Hitherto I have

* Of the Koran.

governed the Persian empire, but now abdicating in favour of Mahmood, acknowledge him as my king and yours. In the first place, however, I trust that you, Mahmood, will consider me in the light of a father; in the second, I beg you will abstain from my concubines, and esteem them as mothers; in the third, that you will not molest my sons, but treat them kindly as brothers; in the fourth, that you will not despise or injure those ministers who have hitherto been faithful to me, and will in future be so to you; in the fifth, that you will protect the poor in your kingdom, and defend them against injustice; and lastly, that you will impartially administer the laws." Having said this, he was called by Mahmood into another room, where, refusing the place of honour offered him on a cushion, he sat down on a corner of it, whilst Mahmood sat on his knees upon the edge. The Shah signed a paper by which he abdicated the empire in his own name and those of all his princes and ministers, and gave it to his own Chancellor, who was standing by, who read it in a clear voice, and then delivered it to Mahmood. The High Priest immediately placing his hands on the heads of both the kings, who were kneeling, implored a happy reign for the Afghan monarch. Each of the Persian ministers then kissed the robes of the new Sultan, submissively promising obedience and fealty to him, and their example was followed by the Afghan nobles and generals. Thus the Persian empire, which was founded by Ismael, and had lasted two hundred and twenty-eight years,

under nine monarchs, this day ended in Hoossein, and their annals were finished and closed.

OCCUPATION OF ISFAHAN, AND THE ENTRY OF MAHMOOD.

Mahmood afterwards ordered Aman Alla to take possession of the palace, and despatched his other general, Nasir Alla, to Casween, to reconnoitre and observe Tahmasp. A guard was posted at the palace gates, and care was taken to clear the streets through which the procession was to pass, of any unpleasantness, by burying the corpses; and a suite of apartments was fitted up for the future residence of Hoossein. This happened on a Friday; the next day nothing particular happened, and everybody who had a charge to perform in Isfahan executed it with the greatest diligence; on the third, which was market-day, the troops were drawn out, and the Shah and Mahmood, mounted on horseback, entered the city; and that the Shah might see the bodies of the Persians slain by the Afghans lying in a heap, they took care to pass that way, and having left the bridge of Shiraz, to which they were tending, when they came to where two roads separated, Mahmood took the one to the right, and Hoossein that to the left. The French, English, and Dutch ambassadors went out to meet Mahmood, and paid their respects to him. It was proclaimed that no Persian was to join the conqueror's procession, or appear abroad; and the Afghans took precautions to provide against any surprise by

placing artillery with the gunners in readiness in the streets, and posted troops everywhere in the roads. On entering the palace, the rooms through which they had to pass were hung with silk embroidered with gold from top to bottom; Mahmood was led to a most superb throne, and received the homage of his ministers and generals, who, with his other subjects and soldiers present, promised him constant fidelity and allegiance. Mahmood, knowing the city was reduced to great straits by famine, immediately ordered provisions to be brought in from the camp, and the price of four pounds of flour that very day was but two thalers.* Thus, within a few days, bread and meat were abundant throughout the city, and the report of this change being rumoured abroad, those fathers of families and possessors of houses who had fled during the season of dearth, returned home, and the city filled daily. Mahmood, pretending to adopt the Persian customs, ordered a banquet to be prepared, and invited the principal nobles of the court; those who had been faithful to Hoossein he treated with honour, but all those who had been disloyal he ordered to be put to death, sparing only the Khan of Ahwas, for the sake of the pledge of friendship he had formerly given him, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. He conferred his principality† on his maternal uncle, as an acknowledgment of his loyalty and past services, saying, "Since your fidelity to the Shah has raised you to this rank, if you persevere in it

* 12½ pounds of bread for five shillings.—*Hauway.*

† Khusistan.

towards me I will secure you the government; go, therefore, to the appointed labours of your post, and henceforth never fail in performing them." He also confirmed the Etimad-Dowlet* in his post, for the fidelity he had so long evinced to the Shah, and presented him, as a mark of approbation, with a splendid robe of honour: he, prostrating himself at Mahmood's feet, said, "Oh, my Lord, I will most faithfully execute all your orders; but I beseech you, if you make war against Tahmasp, not to compel your slave to be ungrateful to the son of my former sovereign, who has heaped such benefits upon me, nor constrain me to take arms against him; I cannot commit so foul a crime." Mahmood, on hearing him thus express his great fidelity and gratitude, much approved of what he said, and promising not to remove him from office, bestowed high encomiums on him. He also conferred marks of favour on the rest of the Persian ministers according to their rank, continuing them in their respective employments, but appointed an Afghan over each as a spy on his conduct. He only committed the task of administering justice, which the Divan Begs had formerly done according to the Persian statutes, to a countryman of his own, who was eminent for his probity and thorough knowledge of the laws. This individual exercised his authority with such moderation and equity, that the Persians all admired him, and on reconsidering the causes

* This minister was a brother of Ally Murdan Khan, and was the one who commanded at Julnabad.—*Hanway.*

which led to the ruin of the empire, were at length brought to repentance, though it was now unavailing.

AVARICE OF MAHMOOD.

Though there was in the royal treasury an immense quantity of gems and other articles of value, yet there was found in it gold and silver coins to an equal amount, all of which Mahmood seized. As the Shah's ministers were possessed of great riches, he exacted a certain sum from each of them, as well as from the merchants of Julfa, Isfahan, and other places. His officers of state also, inflamed with the desire of acquiring wealth, accumulated vast sums; and as no pay was assigned to the Afghan army, the soldiers gave up a fifth part of their spoils to their leaders, and divided the rest among themselves. But the army, satiated with plunder, very rarely received anything from their commanders, and it was only on the taking of Isfahan that pay was distributed to the troops.

AN ARMY IS DESPATCHED AGAINST THE CITY OF CASWEEN.

Having thus taken Isfahan, Mahmood was desirous of reducing Casween to his authority, and for this purpose despatched Aman Alla, with eight thousand men, and an order to the inhabitants, of the following purport: "You inhabitants of Casween, obey this mandate, and deliver up your city to our army sent into your district. If Tahmasp is to be found there, send him to us without delay. If you comply with

these our orders, you shall suffer no loss either in wealth or honor, and should you sustain any injury from the Afghans, you shall be indemnified by us. If on the other hand, you are contumacious, and dare to oppose us, and by the help of God we are the victors, protection shall not be extended to one among you on any account, but we will extirpate you entirely." A similar letter was written by Hoossein; and on being furnished with the necessary supplies, the army commenced its march, and after proceeding some distance, approached the city. Tahmasp hearing this news, fled with his troops to Tabreez, and when the Afghans arrived shortly after, they found the town abandoned by the army; the inhabitants, unable to confide in the slender garrison left by Tahmasp, and destitute of provisions for a siege, surrendered on seeing Mahmood's letter and that of Shah Hoossein, without opposition, assigning separate quarters to each man, and made presents to the officers. It is reported, that not contented with these, and desiring more, they so irritated the citizens, that these secretly deliberating, determined to attack the Afghans, who, compared to themselves, were few in number, for the population of the city consisted of about a hundred thousand Persians. Eight or nine days having elapsed in this state of things, they sought an opportunity of putting their plans into execution. In those countries, the keepers of the baths blow horns at night, by which the people are aroused from their sleep, and at this signal that the baths are open they hasten to them. The citi-

zens, therefore, agreed that when the bathmen's horn sounded, every one should secretly kill the Afghans in his house whilst sleeping, and guards stationed in the streets to prevent any from escaping. On the appointed night, however, when they intended to perpetrate this deed, some of the Afghans, unable to sleep, suspected that something of the kind was in contemplation, and immediately mounting their horses, hastened to the market-place; but the Persians rushing upon them effected a great slaughter. Their General fled wounded to Isfahan, with a thousand Afghans. Above four thousand were slain by the Persians; some saved themselves in a state of nudity; others wandering from the road, returned to Candahar, through the desert, and they lost all their baggage.

ACCOUNT OF THE MASSACRE AT ISFAHAN.

This happened in the year of the Hijra 1135, (Jan. 8, 1722-3*): the rest of the Afghans, panic struck, distrusted their weakness, and suspected the inhabitants of Isfahan would attempt the same deed when they heard of what had occurred at Casween. They therefore, by treating them with kindness and respect, endeavored to make them their friends and allies, in the hopes of averting the impending destruction. At the same time, Mahmood having prepared a general feast, invited all those who had survived the sword and famine, rich and poor, old and young, and treated every one honorably according to the Persian custom.

* Hanway.

But amid the feasting and rejoicing, Mahmood cruelly ordered three hundred to be slain, amongst whom the young son of Roostoom* was murdered, despite the entreaties of the Afghans in his behalf; this young man was present by accident at the feast, and had been adopted by an Afghan, being a youth of highly cultivated talents, and of the best disposition. By this means the panic which the event at Casween had occasioned, was a little removed: the invaders quieted themselves with the hope of safety, and cast out the dead bodies of the Persians before the palace. Nor did this massacre satisfy them; they proceeded to seize the sons of those who had been slain and killed; and all those capable of bearing arms. Moreover, permission was granted to two hundred young Persians and Georgian princes to go wherever they chose, from the city; but then were they attacked, and for fifteen days afterwards they wandered in the neighbourhood of Isfahan; and all those who were fit for war were murdered, twenty-five only out of the original number escaping. The number of those sacrificed in this manner, exceeded those who fell in battle. Subsequently seventy thousand tomans† were extorted from the Etimad-Dowlet, and the wealth of those who were murdered, was confiscated. Thus the desire

* The son of the brave Roostoom Mirza, who fell in the desperate charge on the Afghans at the head of his Georgian troops at the battle of Julnabad, and the grandson of the unfortunate Etimad-Dowlet, Fetteh Ally Khan.

† £175,000.

of increasing their wealth seized the Afghans, and they were no longer able to trust the Persians.

THE TRAVELLER'S ADMONITION.

Exult not, Oh thou, who perceivest the griefs of other hearts!—vaunt not thyself when thou seest the misfortunes of thine enemy, but never forget the proverb, "to-day for me, to-morrow for thee." Consider not the circumstances of this world either as fortunate or adverse, for neither is there any certainty in the happiness of the one, or any stability in the unhappiness of the other. Beware in whom thou placest confidence! Mark not thou who are prudent, the disgrace of thy servant, or thy guest, nor wish to suffer the like in the day of Resurrection! If thou observest any afflicted by the Supreme Dispenser of Good, do not desire the loss of his fortune, betray him, or seek to calumniate him. Say not that thy friend and the stranger are the same to thee, unless thou wishest the punishment destined by God for thy sins, to be inflicted on thee by the cruel hand of an enemy; but be thankful to fall into that of thy kind friend, rather than of an impious and unmerciful foe. Believe it to be preferable to receive poison and colocynth from an ally, than honey and sugar from an adversary. If thou wert skilled in the corrupt affairs of the world, and in the different natures of man, thou wouldest have known that the people of the west are least prone to slaughter, the Turks most generous in beneficence, the inhabitants of the East in the effusion of blood;

deceitful in their promises, though most profuse in making them; if, I say, thou hadst known these most momentous truths, which it behoved thee most to have learnt, thou wilt understand in future, that thy fortune consists in adhering to thy word.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIFFERENT RANKS AMONGST THE NATIONS INHABITING PERSIA.

Mahmood afterwards endeavoured to attach his countrymen more to his person; and to gratify them by raising their rank above all others, ordered it to be publicly proclaimed, that for the future all Persians, particularly the inhabitants of Isfahan, were to give place to the Afghans; and if they met them in the road, they were to yield the path and salute them by folding their arms across their breast, and threatened all those who refused to pay them this mark of respect. At the same time he established grades of distinction between his other subjects, by assigning the first place to the Afghans, the second to the Dergesins, the third to the Armenians, the fourth to the natives of Mooltan, the fifth to the fire-worshippers, the sixth to the Jews, and the seventh to the Persians, whom he placed in the lowest rank of all, and he commanded that this order should be most scrupulously attended to.

COLLECTION OF SUPPLIES FOR ISFAHAN.

Provisions growing scarce in Isfahan, Nasir Alla was sent with three thousand picked Afghans to collect supplies: he was ordered to spare only those cities who obeyed his commands, and sent the required food to the capital, but to ravage those who were refractory. Marching, therefore, towards Hamadan, he plundered and reduced many towns on his route, and sent provisions to the metropolis; but passed by those which were difficult to capture, on account of the resistance the inhabitants could make. When he approached Hamadan, the Dergesins who resided there came out to meet him, and congratulating him on his arrival, joined him. That nation, who were Soonees, were brought by Shah Abas from the confines of Mesopotamia to Hamadan; Nasir Alla raising six thousand soldiers out of these, ravaged the neighbourhood of that city with nine thousand men; and when he was attacked by two thousand Persians, who formed the guard over the Shah's stud, he defeated them, and seizing all the horses, sent the choicest to Mahmood.* Besides collecting innumerable cattle, and the spoils of the country, Nasir Alla returned to Isfahan within eighty days, with six thousand camel loads of provisions. Above a hundred thousand Dergesins

* Hanway notices it as extraordinary, that no one but the Khan of Hamadan, and the keeper of the stud, attacked Nasir; and differs from our author in stating that the latter was victorious, even seizing part of the plunder acquired by the Afghans.

removing to the capital, were put in possession of the vacant houses by Mahmood; and though the city was thus recruited with inhabitants, yet there were many vacant places.

THE AFGHANS DETERMINE TO RECRUIT THEIR ARMY.

When Mahmood perceived that the Dergesins were an insufficient guard for the city, and great part of his choicest troops to have fallen in battle, and more by the treachery of the Persians, and that there was a necessity for a larger army, he consulted with the elders and his experienced ministers, who judging that no confidence could be placed in soldiers or subjects of a different religion and nation to themselves, persuaded him to collect them only out of his own people. Fearing, moreover, an attack on the garrison, they determined not to delay putting their designs into execution. The Ishikgassee Agha,* Abdallah, was therefore sent forthwith to Candahar, with many presents. Having distributed these on his arrival, numbers assembled in a short time to march to Isfahan, with whom he returned, accompanied with thirty thousand camels. Some thousands arrived there at different times. The mother of Mahmood also came with a caravan of three thousand camels, one of which she rode herself. Thus the army of Mahmood was quickly reinforced, yet no regular pay was assigned them, but only places to pillage.

* Master of the Ceremonies.

THE AFGHANS PREPARE TO SEIZE THE PLACES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF ISFAHAN.

Mahmood's army being thus recruited, and no longer fearing the enemy's attacks, the monarch considering that time ought not to be wasted in inaction, and knowing that the Persians no longer contemplated levying troops, sent his army under the command of Zeberdest Khan to ravage the towns adjacent to Isfahan. This officer endeavoured to seize the city of Yesd, * which is situate three hours from the capital. As it was fortified, however, with walls and ditches, and contained a great number of inhabitants, who had previously stored up an abundance of provisions, it held out for some days. Mines, however, being dug, and a breach effected, the town was taken. Then on besieging Ben Isfahan, the Afghans were bravely repulsed, the town being thickly peopled, and well supplied with ammunition to make every resistance; but a breach was effected by the assistance of a fire-worshipper, who sprung a mine, and the assault commenced, when the besieged sent messengers to sue for peace, which Zeberdest, who was a native of the town, granted them under certain conditions; and taking possession of the place, despatched provisions to Isfahan. When Mahmood, who was excessively irritated against the townsmen, heard

* This Yesd, which is a small town within a short distance northward of Isfahan, must not be confounded with Yesd, the large and celebrated city to the eastward of the capital.

that the place had surrendered, he was highly displeased that an amnesty had been granted to them, and sought various pretexts for taking revenge; but the Persians being informed of this, bore every annoyance from the Afghans, avoiding everything that could raise a suspicion; and at the time when Lootf Ally Khan fled from Isfahan, and came among them, they delivered him up to Mahmood, and he approving of their fidelity, repressed in a great measure the flame of his anger against them.

DESPATCH OF AN ARMY TO BESIEGE SHIRAZ.

Mahmood having again appointed Nasir Allah commander of the army, sent him with three thousand Afghans, and six thousand Dergesins, to besiege Shiraz. All the towns and cities on his route surrendered to him, for he was originally descended from the fire-worshippers of India, and had gained great renown among the Persians for bravery, and the Afghans for his fortune in capturing places, under the cognomen of Jilderim Khan. In eleven battles with the Persians, at the head of the Afghan army, he had only been twice defeated, and had been the conqueror seven times. Elated with the hope of certain victory, and imagining that the Persians were terrified at him, he besieged the town with nine thousand men, and flattering himself with the the hope of a quick surrender, was compelled to experience a reverse, for the inhabitants defended themselves bravely. He, seeing their courage, resolutely

attacked them; but his rashness getting the better of his prudence, he was killed by a ball. His army perceiving this, fell back, carrying with them the body of their leader, and entrenching themselves at a short distance from the city, slew all the Persians in the neighbourhood of Shiraz. They recommenced the siege, and informed Mahmood of what had happened. On hearing of his general's death, he ordered his body to be brought to Isfahan for interment, and a tomb to be erected to his memory, and endowed it for two priests. He immediately sent Zeberdest Khan to the army, but the towns taken by Nasir Alla, hearing of his death, revolted directly. Zeberdest despaired of capturing the city when he joined his troops, for the governor of Shiraz, a prudent and skilful commander, had well fortified and stored it previous to the commencement of the siege, and sent a large sum of money to an Arab prince called Al Hajy Abdool Bakir, requesting his assistance, which was promised. Relying, therefore, on this assurance, he endured the siege for some months. In the meantime the Afghans, vigorously attacking the city, lost half their army, and on account of the defection of the towns and cities taken by Nasir Alla, were reduced to great straits. It was reported one morning to Zeberdest, that Al Hajy Abdool Bakir was advancing with five thousand Arabs and some Persians to the relief of the city. On this he resolutely attacked and slew most of them; Abdool Bakir was killed, offering a determined resistance, and the Afghans captured

the whole of his baggage. This news was carried to the citizens, who, as they had endured the miseries of a siege for eleven months, and were deprived of every hope, sent the governor's brother to treat with the besiegers on the articles of capitulation. When the Afghans perceived the extremities to which the besieged were reduced, they, unwilling to grant them an assurance of immunity, deferred a reply, and a breach having been made, they suddenly stormed the place. Strict orders having been issued by the general that no one was to be killed, they only plundered the town. On seeing how many of the poor had died from starvation, and finding sufficient provisions in the granary of a rich man to have lasted the garrison for three months, they reported the circumstance to Zeberdest, who, ordering the wretch to be brought before him, asked him why he had not distributed the corn among the poor, and having put him in chains, left him to be starved to death. Placing a garrison in the captured city, he sent the rest of his troops on a foraging expedition, who, going towards Bender Abas, spared all the towns and cities on their march upon the payment of a contribution. The inhabitants of this place, hearing of their approach, carried all their effects to the isle of Ormuz; but the English and Dutch authorities there having barricaded their houses, sent a messenger to meet them, informing them that the Persians had left, with their property, to reside elsewhere; and stipulated that the troops should retire satisfied with some provisions. Of those

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who composed this force, fifty alone returned in safety, the rest, having been attacked by diseases, died on the road.

FUREEDON KHAN* DESPATCHED BY TAHMASP, AND HIS MARCH INTO THE DISTRICT OF BERRIJE.

Tahmasp, after the campaign against Casween, left Tabreez, and resided at times at Tehran, and at others in the former city, and levied troops from the surrounding country. When he heard that the Afghans were detained by the siege of Shiraz, and that it was to be relieved by Abdool Bakir with eight thousand Persians, he gave Fureedon† the command of twenty thousand men he had raised among the Shahseven, and sent him into the district of Berrjie, which is in the neighbourhood of Isfahan. He gave him the following instructions:—"Make haste, and as there may be many towns and cities in that district still holding out against the Afghans, after levying reinforcements among them, march to Kiulpekient, and remain there; for as it is a large place, the Persians, who have congregated there from its vicinity, have fortified it with moats and ramparts, built a citadel within an hour's distance, and destroyed several Afghan detachments that have marched against them." The order given to Fureedon, when on the point of marching, was to harass the Afghans in the neighbourhood of

* Khan of the Koords.—*Hanway.*

† This officer has been also called Fredon Khan, and Aslam Kan Khan, but improperly.

Isfahan, by frequent excursions, in order that Mahmood might be provoked to sally from his capital; and that being thus stripped of troops, Tahmasp, who was watching his opportunity within fourteen days' march, might take it more easily; and if Mahmood on his return should attempt to retake it, Fureedon Khan was to attack him in the rear, whilst Abdool Bakir was to drive the Afghans from before Shiraz; and thus they would leave them no opportunity of assisting each other by reason of the distance between them. Fureedon Khan, in obedience to this order, seized many of the Armenian towns on his arrival in that district, reproached the inhabitants for having submitted to the invaders, and sent Tahmasp five hundred heads which he represented to be those of Afghans.* By that time the report of Al Hajy Abdool Bakir's defeat, and the occupation of Shiraz by the Afghans, reached the camp of Tahmasp and his general, who were much astonished at it; but when the latter heard that Mahmood was marching in person against him from Isfahan, with a numerous army, he was much agitated, and had scarcely drawn out his troops in battle array, when, ascending an eminence, he perceived Mahmood approaching. Terrified at his advance, he took to flight with his army, no one daring to oppose the pursuers. The Afghans then turned to besiege Kiulpekient; their attempts for some time

* Some writers state that so little discrimination did this general use with regard to those whom he put to death, that many among them were Armenian Santons, as their shaven tonsures indicated.

were fruitless, until some of the most experienced warriors sent for an elephant, which was trained to tear down the walls, and through that breach they rushed into the city. The Persians fled to the fortress in the neighbourhood, carrying their provisions with them, but surrendered at length to Mahmood, when closely pressed, on favourable conditions. Thus, within three hours, Fureedon was defeated, and Kiulpekient, with its stores and adjacent fortification, all taken.

SUBMISSION OF THE INHABITANTS OF CASHAN.

The inhabitants of the neighbouring places seeing this, voluntarily submitted to the Afghans; and the citizens of Cashan, which is in the government of the same name, considering it politic to adopt a similar course, offered through an envoy to surrender, who was the bearer of several presents, with a written form of the articles of capitulation, which Mahmood accepted, and marched thither. Having placed an adequate garrison in it, the victor returned to Isfahan, where, making a magnificent entry, he was congratulated by the citizens, who celebrated his return with great rejoicings and festivities which lasted for three days. Mahmood, at the same time, formed a resolution within himself never to leave his capital again.

HISTORY OF AMAN ALLA.

Aman Alla was not an Afghan by birth, but a native of Kabul, who had offered his services to Mahmood in the commencement of his reign, and being

acceptable to him on account of his talents and experience in war, obtained the appointment of steward of his household. He was at length the projector and leader in the conquest of Persia, insomuch that when they were about to invade Kirman, there was an agreement made between Mahmood and himself, by which the half of everything that was acquired by their united exertions was assigned to him. Subsequently recalling that compact to memory, he said, "God, Oh Mahmood! has granted us weak and feeble creatures, out of the measure of his grace, to perform many exploits beyond our expectations; for this cause it is fitting to give him unbounded thanks, and to extol His praise, since the continuance of your health and prosperity may depend on that. Demanding justice, therefore, I ask you, remembering our compact, not to refuse me half of the conquered kingdom." Mahmood, astonished at this request, upbraided him, and exhorted him to be contented with the wealth that had fallen to his share, and not to be desirous of being admitted to a participation in the empire. Having thus terminated the conference, Aman Alla returned home, placed his turban on his head, and not knowing which way to turn, wrote a letter to Mahmood to the following effect:—"As you are unwilling to adhere to your agreement, I renounce in future your service; for since I do not belong to your nation, but am a subject of the king of Hindostan, you have no right to command me; for I will return to my country with my troops." Some days after, having

collected upwards of two thousand soldiers, who had come from Kabul, he set out with them on his march from Isfahan. Mahmood pretending he did not care for his departure, and that it was of little consequence, took no notice of it, until he learnt, three days afterwards, that he had abandoned his intention of returning, and had taken the route to Tahmasp. Greatly alarmed at this, he ordered his body-guard to mount, and eleven thousand other troops to follow, who, being ready within an hour, and mounted on fleet horses, soon joined Mahmood, who, riding about in all directions, came up with Aman Alla. Mehmed Khan, a Bulochy, was desirous of attacking him, but was prohibited by Mahmood, who, speaking kindly, rushed to meet and embrace the fugitive chief; and taking him to some distance from the troops, besought him not to despise or oppress him. Appeased by this, he renewed the contract; and uniting the two armies, Mahmood sent him back to Isfahan in charge of some trusty followers, who were ordered to treat him with the same honour as formerly. He, nevertheless, enjoined the governor of Isfahan to place spies over Aman Alla, who should never lose sight of him; and having thus averted this danger, he determined to reduce Loristan, Kiok Geelan, and the Baktiari tribes. The wise consider that Mahmood, by breaking his oath and compact with Aman Alla, brought ruin on his affairs, and from that time they began to decline; for Aman Alla was the founder of his fortunes, and had often saved his life; and they conceive

that it would only have been justice either to have satisfied them, or if he had determined not to suffer a colleague in the empire, he should have requited him in some other way. When Mahmood entered the Baktiari country, which is situated on the borders of Loristan, to the south and west of Isfahan, the inhabitants, who were already armed, attacking him, slew many of his troops and captured their baggage. Mahmood, burning with revenge, laid waste the whole of their lands and marched into Kiok Geelan. In consequence of a severe snow storm falling one night, which blocked up the roads, Mahmood could not move, and the Persians hemmed him in on every side. For three months they wandered through the waste, contending with continual frost and snow. They then turned towards the Ben Israel tribe, and when the thaw at length came, the Afghans were reduced to great extremities, for the Persians had destroyed the bridges, and the rivers and brooks had overflowed their banks. They were consequently compelled to swim the streams, and having lost most of their provisions and men, they would not have been able to surmount these difficulties, had not Cassim Khan, a Baktiari chief who had been kindly treated by Mahmood after the capture of Isfahan, secretly furnished them with guides. Having thus overcome these dangers, three thousand Afghans entered the capital by night, with scarcely any clothing, so discouraged by all their misfortunes, that but little more was wanting to raise a rebellion, to prevent which fifty thousand

tomans were distributed among them. During the following summer, the enfeebled army, unfit for any campaign, remained inactive at Isfahan, until they acquired strength by the arrival of reinforcements from Candahar, and the simultaneous levy of troops among the Dergesins. Tahmasp having heard of the overthrow of the Afghans, was desirous of marching upon Isfahan; but as Tabreez, the ancient capital, was besieged,* considering it preferable to go to the relief of that city, than on his proposed expedition, after well weighing the one against the other, decided on going to Tabreez.

MAHMOOD'S EXPEDITION TO CHASTISE THE INHABITANTS OF YESD.

Two thousand laden camels having been plundered on the road from Candahar to Isfahan, by the inhabitants of Yesd, and many of the Afghans slain, Mahmood, when he received intelligence of it, determined to extirpate them, lest in future they might intercept travellers from Candahar, and marched a large force against it. The citizens received within their walls all the neighboring people, and being thus reinforced, and well supplied with provisions, they fortified the place with moats; and having placed all their old men, women, and children in safety in the mountains, burnt all the corn and grass, and removed entirely all the forage and provisions. The Fire-worshippers, in this city, being well disposed towards the Afghans, one

* By the Turks in 1724, under the Padshah of Van.

of them wrote to Mahmood, informing him that he had charge of the gates, which should be opened to him. Mahmood, on his arrival, perceived everything destroyed, but trusting to this promise, exhorted his soldiers to attack the city immediately, for fear the provisions they had brought with them might be expended. When the Fire-worshippers would have secretly opened the gates, the Persians having detected their perfidy in time, put all to death, and then harassed the Afghans by frequent sallies from the fort, who, being soon destitute of provisions, despaired of capturing the place, and almost all of them were slain in their retreat, very few returning with Mahmood to Isfahan.

COMMENCEMENT OF MAHMOOD'S INSANITY.

Afflicted by this second disgrace, Mahmood became restless, and seeing his fortune on the decline, abstained from taking nourishment or sleep, and appeared thunderstruck, and fixed in profound thought, gave evident symptoms of derangement. The priests* being summoned, were ordered to offer up prayers for his restoration to health, and he was given in charge to one of them to be confined in a room, that he might invoke the Deity on his behalf, and give him pious advice, by which means they hoped he would regain his sanity. Seized at length with fury, he broke from his apartment, and wandering about, ad-

* The Armenian clergy of Julfa were called in to read the Red Gospel over the lunatic.

dressed the walls, stones, and trees, loading his friends and servants with opprobrious epithets. They considered that his state of mind ought to be concealed, as it was discreditable in the highest degree. During these forty days he was sometimes sane, and at others insane, but at the expiration of that period his malady increased.

MAHMOOD EXTIRPATES THE ROYAL FAMILY OF PERSIA.

As Mahmood was walking one day in the palace, and indulging in his suspicions, in the fire of his madness he ordered the sons and brothers of the Shah, with the whole of the male branches of the royal family who resided in the palace, to be brought before him, with their hands tied behind their backs with their own girdles. The Afghans, in obedience to this order, placed five hundred men before him, among whom were three old men, the sons of Shah Abas, who had been deprived of sight during the reign of Sooliman, and having disposed them in proper order, brought them forward in turn. He ordered their heads to be struck off as they passed, by a person placed behind; and when the cruel executioners began to execute this command, the tutors and servants of the victims, rending their clothes, gave vent to tears. Shah Hoossein, on hearing their shrieks, and touched with pity, hastened to afford them relief, although he was so ill that he was scarcely able to walk; but his prayers were of no avail, though he reminded the tyrant of his covenants and treaties,

and falling a prostrate suppliant at his feet, rubbed his forehead on the ground, earnestly interceding for the lives of his beloved children. When the two youngest of his sons heard his voice, they flew to his assistance; he thinking it in vain to appeal to Mahmood, covered them with his body like so many bleating sheep and lambs about to be butchered, exclaiming:—"Kill me, but spare my boys!" and dashing his head against the earth with a violent scream, most earnestly entreated the tyrant. At length Mahmood's stony heart relenting, he said,—"I have given them to you. What advantage would it have been to me if the throats of your sons had been cut to-day, which to them is a day of resurrection?" They, however, both died two days subsequently. *

THE REASONS ERRONEOUSLY ASSIGNED AS THE CAUSES OF THIS ASSASSINATION.

This alone was the cause of Mahmood's destroying the royal family; after his double defeat, he suspected the Afghans despised him, and reflecting on the weakness of his forces, began to dread the Persians, lest they should revolt whenever an opportunity presented itself. Others, however, refer it to Tahmasp's flight during the siege, as we have before narrated, and the subsequent withdrawal from the palace of Mirza Suffee, the Shah's son and deputy for eleven days, and his going to head the Baktiari tribes; and that Tahmasp, when he heard this, had despatched a mes-

* Probably of excessive terror.

senger with a letter to him, to which the Mirza replied, offering him his alliance. This, however, is not the real cause of the extermination of the princes of the blood.

MAHMOOD'S ILLNESS.

When Mahmood had passed forty days in solitary confinement, and had so inhumanly eradicated the royal family to calm his suspicions, his disease daily increased. His reason by degrees diminishing, no longer recognising the bystanders, he wished to kill and beat them; and sometimes cried and yelled aloud, like a drunken man and idiot. His attendants being alarmed, left him, when they were no longer able to restrain him; and as he had grown outrageous and powerful, they shut him up in a cell, where he was at length confined to his bed by weakness, caused by having abstained for some days from sleep and sustenance. When every hope of his recovery, under the most skilful treatment, had vanished, they distributed alms from the treasury, and remunerated those who had been injured by him. In order to appease the inhabitants of Julfa, they gave their priests a thousand tomans; were liberal even to the Dutch factors, * and were profuse in their promises of more. His malady encreasing, he was seized with excruciating

* £3000. It must be remembered that Mahmood had extorted large sums from the factors of the Dutch and English East India Companies, and the sum now returned was to indemnify them in part for their losses.

pains in all his limbs, and screaming amidst the most agonizing torments, tore his hands and shoulders with his teeth; and after a few days his body was perforated like a sieve, with the ulcers that broke out all over him. His flesh mortifying, was filled with worms; and the physicians and surgeons in attendance, being unable with all their skill to allay the disease, he became most offensive.

SEID ALLY KHAN SENT AGAINST CASWEEN, AND HIS DEFEAT.

When the Afghans despaired of Mahmood's life, they held a consultation, and were afraid lest when this news should reach Tahmasp's army in the vicinity of Casween, and other parts of the country, the enemy seizing the opportunity, might arouse themselves. To ward off all danger, they despatched Seid with eight thousand men into the neighbourhood of Casween, to observe the movements of Tahmasp. The Persian prince had raised a large force for the purpose of relieving Tabreez; * but when this intelligence was

* This was the second time that Tabreez had been besieged by the Turks; firstly, in 1724, when they were driven by Tahmasp, with the assistance of the Armenians of Kapan, from the place with a loss of twenty thousand men; and secondly, in 1725, under the command of Osman Padshah, who was forced to raise the siege by the Armenians. These being deserted by Tahmasp, were forced to make peace with the Turks; favourable conditions being granted them, which were subsequently broken, as upwards of 200,000 of them fell a sacrifice to Turkish perjury.—*Du Cerceau.*

Hanway, however, does not mention anything about this treachery

brought to him, he made a sudden attack upon the advancing Afghans, and after a severe engagement, compelled them to retreat to Isfahan, at which the rest of their countrymen were much alarmed.

ASHRUF SUCCEEDS, AND ASSASSINATES MAHMOOD.

Being now compelled to be solicitous about the election of Mahmood's successor, some of the Afghans gave it as their opinion that his brother ought to be summoned from Candahar; but in consequence of the distance and necessary protraction of the journey in summer, whilst there was no security from the Persians, and without a chief there could be no authority to undertake any expedition, Ashruf ben Abdallah, the cousin of Mahmood, was unanimously chosen. Having therefore sent some officers, they took him from prison, and were desirous of placing him upon the throne, but the adherents of Mahmood, shutting all the gates of the palace, opposed their entrance for two hours with cannon and musketry; they at length forced a way, and desired Ashruf to mount the throne, as Mahmood had assassinated his father Abdallah to obtain the government of Candahar. Ashruf, long wishing to avenge his death, only waited an opportunity for doing so; Mahmood, never feeling secure from his revenge, had on some pretext put him in chains.

of the Turks, but merely says that the besiegers under the Padshah of Van, (not Osman Padshah, but Abdallah Kouproli), found it difficult to capture the town, which they did after a severe struggle of four days.

The time for retribution being now arrived, the new Sultan was unwilling to ascend the throne before he had revenged his parent, and saying "Blood for blood," ordered Mahmood to be decapitated as he lay in bed. He was appeased when the head was brought to him, and seating himself upon the throne, received the customary homage. Ashruf, thus confirmed in the Empire, ordered the monarch's body guard and partizans, consisting of five hundred Huzaras, to be put to death, and his other servants to be imprisoned. Aman Alla also, according to the proverb, "Evil is repaid with evil," shortly after suffered the punishment of his crimes.

DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTER OF MAHMOOD.

Mahmood was of middle stature, pale complexion, small eyes which rolled in every direction, plain featured, with a stern aspect, very active and vigorous, dark beard, and short neck, which gave his head the appearance of being fixed on his shoulders. He was most tenacious of his orders, cruel to his enemies, and feared by all the Afghans, who so obeyed him that they would follow him in the most severe engagements. Though not liberal himself, he wished his soldiers to grow rich by plunder. Placing himself in front of his army in battle, he would lead it on in person. Whatever he undertook, he prosecuted with such ardor that he labored unweariedly, though often foiled in his endeavours to gain his aim. He slept but little, watched much, despised delicacies, was accustomed

to eat whatever was placed before him, and did not care where he lay. Often clad in his cloak alone, he would spend days in the pursuit of an enemy. He rode very fast on horseback; always stationed and visited the guards himself, trusting no one in an affair of such importance. A strict upholder of justice, he admitted no intercession, but decided according to the rigor of the law. He was never seen intoxicated, and after his marriage with the daughter of Hoossein, he remained faithful, and had a son by her, who, it is said, was either slain or blinded by Ashruf.

HISTORY OF MAHMOOD'S BROTHER.

Many people allege good reasons why Mahmood's brother, who was appointed his representative at Candahar, did not succeed him in the Persian empire when he should have done so. First, for instance, they considered that as a dervish he could not have aspired to the throne; in the second, they say he plainly knew and foresaw that Ashruf would not willingly allow the kingdom to slip from his hands, and he was unable to oppose him on account of the difficulty he experienced in raising an army. The best troops had been ordered from Candahar to Isfahan by Mahmood, and although he might have raised forces in India, yet he was destitute of the best means and nerve for accomplishing an undertaking—money; convinced by these and similar reasons, he wearied himself no longer in vain attempts, and thus lost his rights.

NUMBER OF THE AFGHAN TROOPS.

There are various accounts with what army Mahmood arrived before Isfahan, nor is it easy to conjecture the right number, for Shah Hoossein, on his approach, sent some officers who were well qualified to judge, to reconnoitre, who all reported it to consist of fifteen thousand men, and that was the generally received opinion. Some of the Armenians, who were inexperienced in military affairs, estimated them at a hundred and fifty thousand; but I, who have travelled through many European countries, and have seen several armies, imagine it to be nearer the truth that the number of Afghans did not exceed forty thousand; I have placed my calculations at this number, for I myself saw the whole army assembled three different times, during my residence at Julfa, when they occupied Farhabad, and afterwards whilst they were besieging Julfa and Isfahan. For as the capital is very large, it seems extraordinary to those acquainted with military matters, that they could beseige it with the small force which it is generally supposed they had at their command, and at the same time defend themselves against the various troops marching to its relief. Besides the Afghans who fell by the sword of the Persians, many also died of natural causes; so that when Mahmood ordered the troops to be numbered after the fall of Isfahan, and other annoyances had been removed, they were found to consist of twenty-five thousand effective men, besides

the wounded, many of them having previously returned to their own country with their booty; and after the capture of Julfa most of the Huzaras followed their example. I became known to the Afghan nobles in a medical capacity, and principally associated with the Ishikgassee Agha, to whom I one day said in conversation, "It is an extraordinary report that you should have ventured to besiege Isfahan with eight or fifteen thousand men; will you therefore inform me if it is correct?" He told me it was utterly false, and said, "We left Candahar with ninety thousand men, fit and unfit for war; but after a month's march, eight thousand of them returned, two thousand others were either ill or dead; in short, when Isfahan was besieged, we had fourteen thousand of Meer Veis' veterans, eight thousand Huzaras, and four thousand Bulochees; the rest of the army consisted of Indians and fire-worshippers."* Thus my conjecture seems very near the truth.

* The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his "Account of Caubul," whilst speaking of the Khiljees, says, "This powerful tribe, in the beginning of the last century, alone overthrew the Persian monarchy." By the above it will be seen that the Huzaras and Bulochees formed a very considerable portion of the invading army, besides other adventurers from Kabul, &c., and moreover that Mahmood's body-guard consisted of Huzaras. In the earlier part of this history it will be seen that the Huzaras (among whom may be included the Abdollees) formed a strict alliance with the Khiljees and Bulochees, and that their chief, Assad Alla, defeated the Persian General, Suffee Koolly Khan. (See also Hanway, vol. ii. p. 148, Ed. 1762.)

HISTORY OF ASHRUF SULTAN.

Ashruf accompanied Mahmood from Candahar as a constant companion, and a spectator in almost all the wars carried on by him, for which reason he gave him a command, and sent him with his division to different places. He prudently executed his commissions, and being brave, indulgent to his soldiers, and not in the least haughty, was held in high esteem by every body, as his advice on several occasions had given great satisfaction. When Shah Hoossein demanded peace after the battle of Julnabad, he gave cogent reasons for its acceptance; but Mahmood having defeated the Persians, secretly determined in his own mind to subdue them, and beginning to distrust Ashruf, concealed his suspicions, though he did not take fewer precautions against him. At the siege of Isfahan also, when he heard of the great want of provisions in the Shah's palace, either to injure Mahmood or to gain some other end, it is said, he secretly sent in by night a thousand Batmen of provisions in charge of some trusty persons. They were also bearers of a letter, in which he asked for a sum of money, to distribute among the army in order to gain them over to his party, saying:—"I will then attack Mahmood with my troops, when you will be able to sally from the city and liberate yourself. I wish you however to believe, that neither I nor any of the Afghans design any thing against you, but against Mahmood, and if

you consent to give the sum named, and the affair succeeds according to our wishes, you shall have nothing to fear from me or the Afghans, and may confide in us." But Hoossein, when he saw this letter, considered it merely as a stratagem, and Mahmood, when he knew it, was extremely enraged, though he repressed his feelings. Some days subsequently, when the army moved nearer Isfahan, in order to cut off all communication with the Shah, he commanded that a strict watch should be kept, lest supplies should enter the city.

ASHRUF CAST INTO PRISON BY MAHMOOD.

When Isfahan was taken, however, Mahmood angrily called Ashruf,* and having reproached him with having sent provisions to the Shah, cast him into prison; nevertheless he allowed him provisions. He moreover ordered him to be properly and respectfully treated, for Nasir Alla was superior in fortune, and Ashruf in counsel to all the Afghans, and by the prudence of these, Aman Alla, and Mianjee, Mahmood had subdued his enemies, and arrived at the pinnacle of power.

* Hanway states that Ashruf returned with three hundred horsemen to Candahar from Casween on Aman Alla's defeat, but that they returned to Persia at the entreaties of Mahmood's mother. Our author however states that at this period he was in confinement.

HUMANITY OF ASHRUF TO THE INHABITANTS OF ISFAHAN.

When Ashruf had ascended the throne, and had become the supreme ruler and judge, he exercised towards all, humanity, benignity, justice and equity, nor did he trangress the bounds in anything. He sent letters to all parts, promising an amnesty to the inhabitants, whether his own subjects, or still opposing his authority, saying: "It will shortly appear to whom Fortune grants the possession of this beautiful kingdom of Persia, and who is to govern it."

THE CONSOLATION OF SHAH HOOSSEIN, AND THE REMOVAL OF THE BODIES OF THE PRINCES TO KOOM.

Sultan Ashruf subsequently paying a visit to Shah Hoossein said, "Indulge not in grief and melancholy thoughts, for I will do nothing in future to injure or annoy you. Do not think me unjust, fraudulent, and like my cousin who has murdered your children, and had not the slightest humanity or good faith; but as it is impossible to undo what is already done, this dispensation must be borne with equanimity, as there is no alleviation of it except patience, and doubt not that ample compensation will be made you by a just Deity. If it would be any consolation to you, however, I will take care that the remains of your sons shall be collected, put into coffins, and buried in the sepulchre of your ancestors in the city of Koom." When Ashruf understood this would be most gratifying to the Shah,

and that he earnestly desired it, he ordered a coffin to be made for each of the princes, and that they should be buried in a mausoleum erected in a garden by one of the preceding monarchs. He moreover ordered that the bodies should be shown to Shah Hoossein, each embalmed according to custom, with amber, camphor, and other aromatics, and enclosed in shrouds of silk woven with gold and silver, in a manner suitable to royalty, and placed on camels equally adorned. A thousand tomans were distributed in alms to the poor, and the tapestry and palls deposited in the sepulchres by the commissioners appointed for that purpose. Two bands of Afghans and Persians accompanied them, and a Georgian soldier was ordered to announce their approach to the city of Koom; but the inhabitants disbelieving the statement as incredible, and fearing some treachery, deprived him of sight with a heated metal plate. Ashruf at the same time ordered it to be publicly proclaimed that the inhabitants of Isfahan were to leave the city en masse, and accompany the funeral with due reverence and decorum; therefore high and low, young and old, men and women left the capital with groans and lamentations, representing as it were the last day. The procession marched seven days' distance to the city of Koom, but the women and cildren returned after accompanying the procession for two hours; the rest proceeded on the road to the destined place of sepulture, but none of those who arrived were allowed to remain in the town. Tahmasp being informed of the approach of the coffins,

took care they should not only be received with splendor, but that they should be consigned to the tombs in the usual manner. One day, therefore, the repositories of the dead were opened, and the bodies deposited in them with the greatest lamentations, and the commissioners distributed the alms sent by Ashruf to the poor, and hung up the tapestry in the tombs. After the celebration of the obsequies, the Persians and Afghans returned to Isfahan, observing the distinctions created between these two nations by Mahmood; and the Shah, instead of bewailing his deceased sons, assumed a serene countenance.

ASHRUF, IN ORDER TO DISCOVER WHETHER THE SHAH ENTERTAINED ANY WISH TO REGAIN THE CROWN, OFFERS TO RESIGN IT.

Ashruf, to prove whether the Shah had any desire to recover the kingdom, one day paying him a visit, said:—"I knew, oh my king! that I was unworthy of the crown, and therefore never believed that the burden of government would be imposed on my shoulders: if you wish it, therefore, I will give you back the royal diadem and throne, which I freely resign, that you may resume them." When the Shah perceived that he was only dissembling with him, he replied: "If I had been worthy of the empire, the Supreme Deity would not have snatched it from me to confer it on you; but as it has seemed fit to the Eternal Providence so to ordain, and he has thought you wor-

thy of it, I trust that you may be fortunate, the empire prosperous, and your authority fixed and enduring as long as the world lasts. Oh! my kindest son, after I had been deprived of the kingdom, the desire of regaining it was completely erased from the tablet of my heart, and there is not a vestige of such an improper wish remaining in it. It is the height of my desires to pass the rest of my days in retirement and peace, with prayers for your felicity. This alone I ask from you—that whilst I live you will refrain from injuring me, and never rëopen with fresh woes the deep wounds inflicted on my heart by the death of my children, for they will never be forgotten." Ashruf, quieted by these soft and composed expressions, caused the sum of two hundred tomans to be paid to the Shah every week, instead of the like monthly allowance which had been assigned him by Mahmood, and permitted him the free range of all the rooms and gardens of the palace; and as he took a delight in building, and was a skilful architect, he allowed him, as the royal residence was in an unfinished state, to add to it without opposition.

HOOSSEIN OFFERS HIS DAUGHTER IN MARRIAGE TO ASHRUF.

Hoossein was likewise gratified by the manifest indications of Ashruf's good will, and therefore said to him one day in conversation:—"My son, worthy of thy royalty, you know I do not possess anything valu-

able to offer you: however, my dearest daughter, thine handmaiden, is still left me, whom I offer to you, and beseech you not to reject, but willingly take her in marriage, and esteem me in the light of a father." Ashruf, highly delighted at this match, sent letters over and over again through all the provinces of Persia, offering peace and full amnesty to the inhabitants, and promised that for the future amity should be cemented through the empire by this firm bond, all dissensions and aggressions being mutually laid aside.

AN ENVOY SENT TO TAHMASP.

When he sent those letters to all his subjects, testifying his gratitude to the Shah, he considered it his duty also to conciliate Tahmasp, and therefore sent an envoy with some splendidly caparisoned horses, and a letter, of which the following is the purport: "It behoves us, my friend, to consign all that has passed to oblivion, to agree, and govern Persia for the future in conjunction. You are not ignorant how for many years past, the neighbouring powers, incited by our dissensions, and invading the Persian territories, have inflicted injuries both on you and me. The heretical Russians have seized this opportunity to occupy many places, and the Turks have also made an irruption into the country. For this evil our alliance will be a remedy; but if we commit the negotiation to ambassadors, the enemy may learn our councils, and we

shall ruin the kingdom. Let us therefore settle these matters ourselves. If we use the intervention of representatives, the time will be protracted; and if we procrastinate, the desirable end may not be attained: therefore it will be the wisest and most prudent course, to choose some place between Tehran and Koorn, suited for our conference, where we may meet, attended by an equal number of troops, who shall be posted in the vicinity, that we may establish a lasting peace on certain agreements and conditions." Tahmasp having perused this letter, evidently suspecting no treachery, incautiously prepared to carry the proposal into effect, without taking any measures to guard against a surprise, although he had been previously deceived by trusting to the honeyed words of Ashruf.

ASHRUF'S FORMER LETTER TO TAHMASP.

Ashruf, as we have narrated in a preceding chapter, had secretly sent provisions to the Shah during the seige of Isfahan, and on the capture of that city had been cast into prison by Mahmood. Whilst in confinement, he clandestinely sent a letter to Tahmasp, in which he besought him to hasten and besiege the capital, and signified that he himself would conspire with the Afghan nobles. "On your arrival before the city," said he, "the chiefs will release me from my dungeon, and declare for you, which the rest of the Afghans perceiving, will for the most part join us. Then, in accordance to our

profession, we will endeavour to the utmost to take Mahmood and deliver him up to you." The twenty-five ministers, who had escaped the general massacre by Mahmood, confirmed this by their signatures, and Tahmasp, on seeing these, placed confidence in it, and at the end of his answer, cursed him who should dare to break this compact. Whilst this was in agitation, Seid Ally was despatched in Mahmood's name against Casween, to gain intelligence of Tahmasp; but the Persian army, which chanced to be on its march to Tabreez, attacked and routed the Afghans, who fled to Isfahan. At that period, the ministers alluded to above, informed Tahmasp of Ashruf's release, his accession to the throne, and what the other events which had happened at Isfahan. They warned him towards the conclusion of their letter against relying on Ashruf's deceitful professions of friendship, which he had made when urged on by necessity; that as he had now obtained his aim in another way, he must not expect the fulfilment of his promises, unless he should change both his name and nature. Seid Ally Khan, on his flight back, after his defeat, met the bearer of this letter on the road, intercepted him, learnt his secrets, and gained information of what had happened during his absence. Immediately hastening to Ashruf, he gave him this correspondence; having attentively perused it, the Sultan studiously concealed its contents, and imposed secrecy on Seid Ally with severe threats.

MARCH OF ASHRUF IN THE HOPE OF SEIZING TAHMASP NEAR CASWEEN.

Ashruf, some days after, having invited the twenty-five ministers to a banquet at Farhabad, ordered them all to be beheaded. He soon after summoned the generals of his army, and opened his mind to those whom he knew were trustworthy, on the subject of taking Tahmasp prisoner. He did not return to the palace, but the household troops having mounted, he hastened to execute his designs, and within two hours twenty thousand Afghan swift cavalry followed him. Some days previously, an envoy had been despatched to Casween, with letters, on a pacific mission,* and on delivering them to Tahmasp had been honourably received. Tahmasp and his advisers, ignorant of what had just occurred at Isfahan, judging that the conditions of peace ought not to be rejected, sent Arslan Khan with a small force to Koom, that in the place appointed for the conference he might observe the Afghan forces, and inform Tahmasp of that, and whatever else he deemed it necessary he should know, previously to his starting for the interview.

MISSION OF ARSLAN, APPROACH OF ASHRUF, BATTLE, AND DEFEAT OF THE PERSIANS.

Arslan Khan having left Casween with his troops,

* He was the bearer of the letter alluded to in the last chapter but one preceding this, when Ashruf was about to marry the daughter of Shah Hoossein.

marched on Koom; but perceiving, during his march, a numerous army approaching, and suspecting what was in agitation, immediately went to Tahmasp. "O King," said he, "we are placed in the greatest danger, and must take care of our lives; for Ashruf is advancing with a large army against us." Tahmasp on this intelligence conferred with his ministers, and selecting a sufficient number of his best soldiers, ordered them to oppose the Afghans; but the Kajars assembling, presented a humble petition, in which they devoted themselves to his protection, and promised him a certain victory, but demanding in future that the Etimad-Dowlet might be chosen from their tribe. This, though unwillingly, was promised them. The Kezilbashes, hearing of this request, declaimed against it, and refusing a Soonee minister, prayed that the honour might in preference be conferred on one of their sect, and in turn sharply contested the point. Tahmasp, therefore, despairing of victory, set off on the approach of the enemy for Mazenderan. Arslan, however, giving the Afghans battle, was defeated by them, and with difficulty saving himself, followed Tahmasp: but Ashruf returned in safety to Isfahan. From this it appears that the Sultan's excessive affability, kindness, and humanity towards the Persians, is to be attributed to his policy alone; though he adhered to the truth in what he had written to Tahmasp, when fearful that Mahmood would kill him in prison, and he was desirous of revenge. The other marks of his humanity towards the Persians arose from his wish to

soothe them, and from his fraudulent designs: for his principal intention was to deceive Tahmasp, and draw him to a conference between Tehran and Koom, where he might surround and capture him. Ashruf thought that the Persians would submit more easily after that prince was taken, and that he might enjoy the throne in greater security, especially as he knew that the Turks and Russians would have reinstated the heir of the Sufvee dynasty. He there devised this stratagem, and endeavoured to beguile Tahmasp with letters, and presents of caparisoned steeds, &c.

ASHRUF DESIRES TO ACCUMULATE WEALTH.

When Ashruf therefore knew that Tahmasp had fled to Mazenderan, and that he might dwell in security at Isfahan, applying himself ardently to amass wealth, he ordered twelve rich Afghan nobles to be put to death, and their property to be confiscated. Some of his most wealthy ministers were imprisoned, and deprived of their riches. He also compelled the inhabitants of Julfa and the Dutch factors and others to refund the money given to them at the time of Mahmood's dangerous illness.

HISTORY OF AMAN ALLA KHAN.

Ashruf, on his accession, appointed Aman Alla his Etimad-Dowlet, who, seized with an eager desire of enriching himself, extorted ninety-thousand tomans from the Persians. Ashruf hearing this, ordered him to be hung up by his feet, and deprived him of every-

thing he had unjustly acquired, which he was compelled to point out during this punishment, which lasted for some days. No one knew anything more concerning this chief's life or death.

HISTORY OF MIANJEE.

Ashruf, putting Mahmood's preceptor also into prison, deprived him of the greater part of the wealth he had amassed, and sent him back to Cabool under a guard, with the small portion of property he allowed him to retain. Aman Alla, Mianjee's nephew, on his arrival from India, became known to Mahmood, to whom he rendered many services, having twice preserved the honour of the army. He took every opportunity of commending Mianjee to the monarch's notice, and it was owing to the prayers of Mianjee, which he constantly offered before a battle, that the victories of the Afghans were owing. He therefore gained great veneration from that people: Mahmood himself rising at his approach, and going to meet him, kissed his hands. He had not an equal among the Afghans for courtesy, kindness, integrity, or urbanity. Neither Mehmed the Bulochy Khan, nor Seid Ally Khan,, among the Afghans, nor Zeberdest Khan among the Persians, suffered any loss either in their wealth or dignity, as most others had done from Ashruf.

HISTORY OF ASHRUF'S BROTHER.

Ashruf's younger brother seeing his elevation to the throne, fled, but was dragged from his retreat, and deprived of sight by hot metal plates.

HISTORY OF MAHMOOD'S MOTHER.

Ashruf summoned Mahmood's mother to his presence, and reproaching her for not having interceded with her son for his liberation from prison, confined her for three days and nights in a subterraneous place where the corpses of the murdered princes had been concealed, and then dismissed her. After his marriage with Hoossein's daughter, he gave a palace in the neighbourhood of the Harem to Mahmood's family, and assigning them a maintenance, forbade them to appear in public.

CONCLUSION.

When this poor traveller, full of defects, had passed six-and-twenty years in the great city of Isfahan, exposed to so many miseries, having gained experience now by rebellion among the Afghans, then by dissensions and treacheries among the Persians; tossed about for a length of time by these and other storms of the evils of war; longing for quiet, he desired most anxiously to gain the haven of safety from this ocean of calamity. At length an ambassador being sent by Ashruf to the Most Sublime Porte, he availed himself of this very acceptable opportunity of grati-

fying his desire, and accordingly bade adieu in his suite to those lands with heartfelt gratification, and found rest after encountering so many dangers.

Praise to God in the highest, for in Him is protection!

The translation was finished by the divine help in the beginning of the month Zilhajy, A. H. 1141; and the impression, by the humble printers of the Government press, in the commencement of the month Suffur, in the year 1142, in the blessed city of Constantinople, which God preserve from all evil!

SUPPLEMENT.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

HAVING thus followed our Author to the conclusion of his labors, which terminated about March 1725, it may not be uninteresting to descend a few years lower on the stream of time, till the overthrow of the Afghan supremacy and subsequent death of Ashruf. We shall therefore, in the course of this supplement, follow the method pursued by the Turkish writer, supplying a concise circumstantial account of these eventful times, which gave rise to one of the most renowned conquerors of the east, the far-famed NADIR SHAH. Before we proceed further, we must avow our intention of not entering into a detail of the various treaties &c. of Tahmasp, but only those which relate to the nation more particularly under our notice, the Afghans.

ASHRUF ENDEAVORS TO GAIN THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF HIS AUTHORITY IN CANDAHAR.

Having obtained the sovereignty in Persia, the new monarch attempted to establish his power over his native land. He therefore privately despatched several confidential adherents, with orders to assemble his party in Candahar, and destroy the authority of the brother of the deceased Mahmood, Hoossein Khan, who had succeeded in confirming his dominion in Afghanistan. In this attempt Ashruf was foiled, and for the moment relinquished all intention of gaining his end by force of arms.

THE TURKS INVADE PERSIA.

In the Month of May 1725, the Turks rëentered this unfortunate country. The Russians had reduced the whole of the western coast of the Caspian, except Shamachia, of which the Lezgees had made themselves masters; whilst the Porte had succeeded in conquering the whole of Georgia, and part of Armenia and Azoorbaijan. Persia thus torn in pieces by intestine broils and foreign invasions, little remained to the rightful heir of the Sufvees, who only maintained his authority in Mazenderan, and a few places in Irak Ajum. Abdallah Kouproli,* Padshah of Van, appeared before

* Du Cerceau here, as in many other places, in error, has stated that this city was taken as soon as besieged, and has exaggerated the number of those who fell in its defence; and they, he adds, were slain in revenge for the death of Osman Padshah, the Turkish Commander, who died before it.

Tabreez with seventy-thousand men, on the thirtieth of July. The Persian commander marched out with twenty thousand, and was defeated. He then flung himself into the place, where the citizens defended themselves with such desperation, that though the Turks entered the city with them, they were four days and nights in making themselves masters of seven of the intrenchments the inhabitants had thrown up. It was not completely taken till the third of August, when the Persians, who had retired about twenty-thousand strong to their two last fortifications, finding themselves unable to hold out any longer, surrendered on condition of being allowed to fall back on Ardebil. A second Ottoman army, under Savee Mostufa, marched against Ganja, which fell after two days' siege. Thence the Turks turned their arms against the Lezgees, but were forced to retire, owing to the severity of the weather, and consequent desertion among the troops. A third, under Ahmed, the Padshah of Bagdad, who subsequently so bravely and successfully repulsed Nadir in 1733, invaded Loristan. Ally Murdan Khan, finding himself too feeble to oppose them, retired into Khusistan; and when Ahmed presented himself before Hurmabad, he found that town deserted. In the meanwhile the Padshah of Mozul made incursions against the Baktiaris, in cöoperation with Ahmed. Suffee Mirza, the head of this tribe, and son to the unfortunate Shah Hoossein, marched against him, but was forced to yield to superior numbers. After this victory, the invaders

advanced within three days' journey of Isfahan, but retired on falling in with the Afghan outposts, as war had not been declared against that nation. The Baktiaris, who had taken refuge in their mountain fastnesses on the advance of the Padshah of Mozul, seized this opportunity of harassing him on his return by sudden attacks. Ally Murdan Khan having joined his forces to those of the Khans of Ahwas and Shuster, suddenly laid waste the vicinity of Bagdad. Ahmed Padshah, on the receipt of this intelligence, sent orders to the Padshah of Mozul to join him; in the meanwhile the Persians retired into their own territories by another route.

ASHRUF SENDS AN EMBASSY TO CONSTANTINOPLE. *

Ashruf, terrified at the success of the Turks, despatched, as before related, his ambassador to Constantinople, to obtain a recognition of his authority from the Porte. The person employed in this delicate mission was Abool Azeez Khan,* who had risen from the menial employment of a mule-driver to be Governor of Julfa. For some time he refused to deliver Ashruf's letter, as the Divan decided that he could not be admitted to an audience by the Grand Seignior. The reason assigned for this conduct towards Abool was, that coming from a prince of the same creed as the Turks, he could not be entitled to the privileges of an ambassador, but

* This embassy was despatched in September 1725, but did not reach Constantinople till the latter end of the following January, having been detained at Hurmabad and Hamadan.

merely to be treated as a messenger; since the Turkish monarch, as the true succcessor of the Khalifs and head of the Mussulmans, claimed jurisdiction over the Afghans, and therefore Ashruf was not on an equality of footing with the Ottoman potentate. On obtaining possession of the letter,* the ministers of the Porte were struck with indignation at the arrogance and haughtiness of Ashruf, who claimed the title of Imam in Persia, and styled himself King of Kings. Abool behaved with such intrepidity in his negotiations, that the Turks were embarrassed; more especially as the Afghan demanded, with great firmness, the restitution of the Turkish conquests in Persia. (A.D. 1726.)

THE TURKS DECLARE WAR AGAINST ASHRUF.

Matters came to a crisis. The Turks maintained there could be but one Imam, unless the countries were so separated by the sea that there could be no communication with Constantinople. Abool as firmly insisted on Ashruf's pretensions. "If," continued he, "as you say, there can be but one Head of the true faith, who can claim that dignity with greater justice than Ashruf, since he belongs to the tribe of Koreish, the kindred of the Prophet, in whom was vested the title of Khalif?" The differences every day grew wider, negotiation was at an end, and the sword called in to decide the quarrel. Abool Azeez was dismissed with very little ceremony (March 31st), and was arrested on his journey to Bagdad by the

* Hanway tells us that they took it from Abool by force.

commandant of Kerkisia* on the Euphrates, under the pretext that Ashruf had previously confined, in a common jail, an officer sent to him by Ahmed Padshah.

WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND AFGHANS.

We see in the history of the world that religious wars are generally attended with more bloodshed than those which originate in the disagreement of states in their political relations with each other. Of these the various Crusades for the recovery of the "Holy City" from the hands of the Saracens afford a melancholy proof, in which hundreds of thousands of undisciplined men fell victims to the zeal which hurried them on to meet a numerous and well disciplined foe, whom the chivalry and prowess of a Cœur de Lion, a Philip, or a Godfrey, vanquished with great difficulty. The war now on the eve of bursting into flames, about the division of the authority of Imam, was also a religious one, with this essential difference, that the Turkish forces, deluded by the artifices of Ashruf, evinced great diffidence in engaging against a prince who like themselves was a Soonee, and professed great zeal for religion. Ashruf selected four nobles, venerable alike for their age and knowledge, and sent them into the Turkish camp to protest his innocence of the Mahometan blood about to be shed. These envoys presented themselves unarmed, and were conducted to Ahmed Padshah, the Ottoman

* In the province of Diabekir.

General. Received in full assembly, they laid the whole of the responsibility of the war upon the Turks; and when the muezzin announced the noontide hour of prayer, they prostrated themselves with the invaders, and besought God aloud to turn the hearts of their fellow-professors, and open their eyes to the iniquity of the invasion. This artful conduct was followed, on their return, by the desertion to the Afghans of five thousand Koords. It was during this period that the "Tareekh-i-Seeah" was compiled at Constantinople.

CASWEEN SURRENDERS TO THE TURKS, AND SUBSEQUENTLY REVOLTS.

In the meanwhile the inhabitants of Casween made an offer of submitting to Abdallah Padshah, on condition that a Turkish governor should be sent them, but no troops. This general, however, despatched Ally Padshah with twelve thousand men, who took possession of the place in the name of the Grand Seignior. Ashruf having fortified his palace, the great square and citadel, thus building a fortress within the heart of Isfahan, ravaged the country from the capital to the very gates of Casween. The townsmen, incited by the emissaries of the Afghans, rose upon the troops who had been quartered on them against the conditions of the treaty, and declared for Ashruf. Ahmed Padshah marched within twenty leagues of Hamadan, when news was brought into his camp that the enemy were approaching. Having detached six

thousand men to meet the Afghans, these troops were surrounded, and cut to pieces; and Ahmed, discouraged at this, ordered his army to entrench themselves. Alarmed, however, at the desertion among the Koords, he determined on giving battle to the foe. Ashruf, though very inferior in point of numbers, did not refuse the challenge. Seventy thousand Turks marched out of the lines, supported by seventy pieces of artillery; whilst the Afghans mustered but thirty-three thousand, and forty harquebusses on camels. At six in the morning* the Turks began the contest, by opening a fire from ten guns. The Afghans returned these with five. Three several times the Seraskier bravely charged them with his right wing, and was as often repulsed, though supported by a furious cannonade: and at three in the afternoon was forced to retire to his entrenchments, after a loss of twelve thousand men. The Koords having mutinied, Ahmed retired during the night to Kermanshah, leaving his artillery and baggage in the hands of the conqueror. Hither Ashruf pursued him, and by a generous artifice succeeded in implanting amongst the Ottoman troops a greater repugnance to fight against him. On his approach Ahmed retreated on Bagdad, and Ashruf sent deputies to him, not to propose a negotiation for peace, but to inform the Padshah of his readiness to

* My authorities do not state the day or the month in which this battle was fought; but from the great preparations for renewing the war made by the Turks in the month of April this year, we may conclude it was fought about the middle of March.

return him all the spoils of his camp, with the exception of arms; and to that act of generosity he added another, not less calculated to serve his end—that of liberating his prisoners. The Porte, alarmed at this defeat, raised immense reinforcements among the Albanians, Bosnians, Egyptians, and Syrians. These vast preparations, however, were unproductive of any important results; for the troops having been deceived in regard to the place to which they were ordered to march, positively refused to pass the frontiers. Ahmed Padshah had in the meanwhile collected an army of sixty thousand men, and burning with anxiety to revenge the defeat in the campaign of last year, had entered the plains of Hamadan, when Reshid Effendi arrived in his camp. This minister had been despatched by the Turkish court to negotiate peace, as it was alarmed by the obstinacy of the troops newly collected to reinforce its General in Persia. Zowla Khan, Ashruf's Etimad-Dowlet, advanced to repel the invasion. The Seraskier sent a messenger to this officer, informing him that the time had arrived for the decision and termination of the question at issue, that the only alternative to the acceptance of the conditions he was authorized to offer, was to prepare for battle. Peace was equally acceptable to both of the belligerent nations; and this abrupt method of opening negotiations was followed, in a short time, by their termination, and the subsequent peace. The principal articles of this treaty were—that the Grand Seignior should be acknowledged Head of the Maho-

metan faith, and true successor of the Khalifs; that he should retain his conquests in Persia; and that Ashruf should be recognized as the lawful sovereign of that country. This treaty was signed at the camp near Hamadan, about the end of September 1727, and peace proclaimed at Constantinople on the 18th of the following November. Thus Ashruf, having freed himself from his most powerful enemy, seemed to all human foresight firmly established on the throne of Xerxes and Noorshevan.

TAHMASP, REDUCED TO GREAT EXTREMITIES, FLIES TO FARHABAD. *

We have traced the fortunes of Ashruf from his attempt to seize Tahmasp, till his treaty with the Turks; and in the interim, the unfortunate heir of the rightful sovereigns was still pursued by fate, and reduced to great difficulties. The Turks and Russians, as we have before related, had seized large portions of his dominions, and he was forced to become in a manner a dependant on Fetteh Ally Khan Kajar, who had taken possession of Mazenderan. He had sent a body of troops against the Kajars, who were the inhabitants of Astrabad; but this force being defeated, he took an oath upon the Koran never to put Fetteh Ally Khan to death, who then promised him obedience; and the Kajars swore to devote their lives to his safeguard. He endeavoured to treat with the Turks and the Russians, but as he resolutely refused

* In Mazenderan.

to cede the respective conquests of these powers, they not only declined treating with him, but he was forced to fly to Astrabad in order to be near the Caspian, on which he might embark in case his life was endangered.

NADIR KOOLLY JOINS TAHMASP AT ASTRABAD.

Dark as the night had hitherto been, a brighter day at length dawned on the fortunes of Shah Tahmasp. Persia at that very hour cherished in her bosom one who was afterwards to revenge her miseries—who should inflict a deep and terrible punishment on her foes; and yet, at the same time, involve her in greater troubles than even her enemies had done. This extraordinary man was Nadir Koolly. His father, Imam Koolly, who belonged to the tribe of Afsars, of which his brother was chief, was employed in making sheepskin coats, in which the lower orders of the Persians are clad, and he himself was bred a shepherd. He was born in 1687, in the neighbourhood of Kelat, made a captive by the Uzbegs in 1704, and escaped four years subsequently. He then became a robber, and entered into the service of a noble in 1712, whom he murdered, carrying away his daughter into the mountains, where he resumed his old avocation of a bandit. In 1714, Babaloo Khan, Governor of Khorasan, received him into his household as Ishikgassee; * and after having signalized himself in his service by his victories over the

* Gentleman Usher.

Uzbegs, he retired to Kelat, (A. D. 1719); irritated at being beaten by Babaloo, who had been offended by his arrogance. Nadir had demanded to be confirmed in his command under Babaloo Khan; but a relation of this noble having been appointed instead, he upbraided the governor with having acted in a deceitful manner, since he had promised to use his influence on his behalf. On this occasion he spoke as his natural ferocity instigated him; and Babaloo, provoked by his conduct, ordered him to be punished, though he commended his valour in high terms. In 1722, we find him maintaining himself at the head of eight hundred men in the mountains of Khorasan, laying the open country under contribution, and extending his lawless authority along the eastern frontiers. In 1727, Suffee-ood-deen Beg, a Bayot chief, fled from Tahmasp to Nadir, carrying with him fifteen hundred men. Thus rëinforced, the bandit leader found himself supported by nearly three thousand followers. His uncle, who was governor of Kelat, took alarm at finding his nephew within thirty leagues of his stronghold; and in order to support a good understanding between them, recommended him to enter the service of Tahmasp, who, he was assured, would pardon him and his followers, and offered to intercede on his behalf. The Shah, though he knew him to be a notorious outlaw, did not hesitate to sign his forgiveness; since he felt assured that his talents as a commander, and the large force he had at his disposal, would produce an amelioration in his affairs.

Nadir, on his march to join his sovereign, seized the opportunity of making himself master of Kelat, and murdering his uncle. Confident that Tahmasp would punish this treachery, he resolved to perform some signal act by which he might render himself more invaluable to the prince. After remaining some months in his stronghold, levying contributions, and increasing his followers, he marched towards the city of Nyshapur, of which the Afghans held possession. Having dispatched six-hundred men to cut up about an equal number of the enemy, who were plundering the country unapprehensive of any danger, Nadir suddenly rose from his ambush on the governor of the town. This officer had sallied from his fortress with the whole of his garrison to revenge the defeat of his troops, and pursued the detachment to the pass of Banrahad, unconscious of the vicinity of any larger force; but when the Persians rose on his rear, the astonished Afghans fell an easy prey, few of them escaping. The conqueror then turned to Nyshapur, which opened its gates at his approach; he took possession of it in the name of Shah Tahmasp, treating the inhabitants with great humanity, and dividing the property of the Afghans among his followers. Whilst preparing for a new expedition, he received intelligence that his sovereign was reduced to great extremities; on this, he sent a messenger to inform the prince that both himself and adherents were entirely at his disposal, and that he could give satisfactory reasons for his conduct at Kelat, if permitted to ap-

proach his person. Fetteh Ally Khan Kajar recommended him in strong terms as a man of great valour; and Tahmasp was too delighted with a proposal of this nature, which seemed to portend some prosperous result, to express any feeling of indignation against him. Nadir in consequence arrived at Farhabad, and having obtained a pardon for Suffee-ood-deen Beg, he sent orders to his followers, to the number of five-thousand, to enter the province of Mazenderan. Finding Fetteh Khan treated too much like an independent prince, and not being able to bear a rival, he seized an opportunity of accusing him to Tahmasp, and putting him to death.

TAHMASP ENTERS THE PROVINCE OF KHORASAN.

Precautions having been taken to secure the pass of Banrahad, Nadir persuaded Tahmasp to put himself at the head of his army, and marched to Nyshapur, where he was received with enthusiastic joy, on the 15th May, 1728. Malek Mahmood, chief of the Abdollees, had taken Mushed in 1722,* and from thence Nadir determined to drive him out. The rebels, unable to oppose him, retired on the approach of the Persians. Tahmasp conferred the title of

* He was at that time Governor of Seestan, and had marched as far as Julnabad to relieve the capital; but Mahmood, terrified at his numerous and regular army, sent Nasir Alla to his camp, with some valuable presents. Persuaded by this officer that Isfahan was reduced to the eve of surrender, and dazzled by the gifts of the Afghans, he withdrew his forces and seized Mushed.

Khan on his general, as well as prefixing his own name to this honour. Tahmasp Koolly Khan (for so we must now call Nadir) proceeded to reduce the rest of Khorasan, while the Shah remained to pay his devotions at the shrine of Imam Riza. Deputations arrived from all parts of the country, proffering their allegiance. Wherever the Khan showed himself the Afghans retired without striking a blow. He marched to Herat, which Assad Alla, the chieftain who defeated Suffee Koolly Khan in 1719, had seized. Tahmasp Koolly Khan no sooner appeared before the walls, than the inhabitants surrendered at discretion; and having left a garrison in the town, he received orders to march back, which he accordingly did, with the head of the governor.* Tahmasp, elated with the success which had attended his arms, sent an ambassador to Constantinople, to detach the Turks from their alliance with the Afghans, and received one in turn from the Porte.

ASHRUF REDUCES YESD AND KERMAN.

Ashruf having concluded a peace with the Turks, collected a large army to beseige Yesd, which at various times had given such annoyance to the Afghans, and before which the usurper Mahmood had been so signally foiled. The inhabitants made every preparation to oppose him, and it was not until it had held out for a long time that Ashruf succeeded in taking it. Ahmed Khan had erected a sovereignty in Kir-

* This Governor does not appear to have been Assad Alla.

man, but not being in a condition to support his army, the troops deserted, when he made overtures of submission to Ashruf. The crafty Afghan promised him his protection; but no sooner had he arrived at Isfahan, than he was sent to Shiraz and beheaded. The territories of the invaders being thus increased, they had not sufficient forces to guard them. The Persians would not enlist in their service, and from Candahar no succours could be expected, as Hoossein Khan had, as we have before narrated, defeated Ashruf's project of destroying his authority; but as that prince had succeeded in gaining the protection of the Turks, he felt that he had no great cause of alarm. Reshid Padshah arrived at Isfahan as ambassador from the Porte, and was received with every distinction, and in consequence great preparations were made at Constantinople to return the compliment to the Afghan minister, who arrived there in July, 1728. In the meanwhile Ashruf enjoyed the sweets of peace; but being alarmed at the success of Tahmasp in the north, he prepared to meet him. He ordered all the Persian inhabitants of the cities and large towns in his power to retire under pain of death from their habitations, and collected a force of thirty thousand troops without the walls of Isfahan during September. He left a garrison of two hundred men in the capital, a number large enough to keep the citizens in awe, as the massacres perpetrated by Mahmood and himself had completely stripped the city of all capable of bearing arms.

BATTLE OF DAMGAN.

Tahmasp Koolly Khan, who had succeeded in raising an army of twenty-five thousand men, had brought them into such discipline, that the Shah did not despair of success. Hearing that Ashruf was advancing to meet them, the Persians marched to Damgan, where Tahmasp Koolly Khan took up a strong position. The usurper approached with his whole army. Confident of victory, the Afghans entreated their sovereign to lead them on directly. Ashruf, however, who saw he had no ordinary general to encounter, proceeded with great caution; but fearing the want of provisions, on the 2nd of October, 1729, gave the enemy battle. The Afghans were the assailants, and attacked the foe with that impetuosity unvaried success generally inspires. The Persians, who acted on the defensive, returned the fire with great coolness. Perplexed at his adversaries' intrepidity, Ashruf detached six thousand men to take them in flank and rear; but these were so warmly received, that they were flung into confusion. The eagle eye of Tahmasp Koolly Khan, which had been watching every quarter, perceived the opportunity of striking a decisive blow. Under a heavy fire from his batteries, the charge was sounded along the Persian lines. The attack was conducted with such fury, that the Afghans were forced to fly, leaving ten thousand men on the field, besides losing their camels, artillery, and baggage.

BATTLE OF MOORSHAKOOR.

So completely were the Afghans defeated, that in two days they reached Tehran, a distance which at any other time would have occupied them a fortnight to accomplish. Thence they made forced marches to Isfahan, where Ashruf commanded all his countrymen to retire into the citadel he had erected at the commencement of his war with the Turks; and some days after he took up an advantageous position at Moorshakoor, near the pass of Hazarmany, about thirty miles N.E. of the capital. The Shah, persuaded by his general, remained at Tehran, under a guard of eight thousand men, whilst this officer marched against the enemy. The Persians flocked to his standard from all quarters. In the meanwhile the Afghan Sultan made preparations to act on the defensive. He threw up field-works in every direction, erecting and entrenching his batteries, and arraying his troops to the greatest advantage. On the 13th of November, Tahmasp Koolly Khan made his attack. The Persians advanced towards the Afghans, receiving their fire without returning a shot. When arrived close to the enemy, the assailants poured in among their ranks such a furious volley, that the astonished Afghans were instantly put to flight, losing upwards of four thousand men. Most of the defeated army reached Isfahan by three in the afternoon, and Ashruf returned with the remainder at night. They prepared for a further retreat, and having stripped

the palace of everything valuable in it, left the city on the following night.

DEATH OF SHAH HOOSSEIN.

Mahmood had extirpated, with very few exceptions, the whole of the Sufvee family; yet with all his barbarity he had abstained from imbruing his hands in the blood of his former sovereign. But a tragedy was now to be performed, the last it was in the power of the invaders to perpetrate. Ashruf, who had begun his reign in Persia with the specious offer of resigning the crown to his lawful monarch, ended it with sacrificing him to the insatiable demon of revenge. Hoossein, now upwards of sixty years old, had seen his empire successively torn in pieces, fall into the hands of rebels, and his family extirpated; and when, after seven years' captivity, the prosperity of his country was gradually recovering from her slavery, and the forces of his triumphant son nearly at his prison gates, he himself was weltering from the assassin's knife. Ashruf carried from the haram the female relations of the unfortunate Shah, and fled to Shiraz, leaving the capital in the hands of an enraged and licentious mob.

ENTRY OF SHAH TAHMASP INTO ISFAHAN.

On the 16th of November the Persian general sent a detachment of his troops into the city, and soon after followed them himself. The Afghans who had been forced to remain, were made victims to the re-

sentment of the infuriated conquerors. The mausoleum erected in memory of Mahmood was torn down, and his ashes treated with the utmost indignity. The Afghans of Casween voluntarily submitted, and were incorporated with the victorious army. Shah Tahmasp, on the news of the recovery of the metropolis, left Tehran with the troops that remained with him, and arrived at the village of Yesd, to the north of Isfahan, on the ninth of December. Here the Khan met him; and the Shah dismounting, walked a few paces with his general, thus paying a mark of distinction to the restorer of his country. He then remounted, followed by Tahmasp Koolly Khan and his troops, and preceded by his shatirs,* entered Isfahan. Here he was received by the citizens with inexpressible joy. A monarch of their ancient line had again come into his capital, and resumed the throne of his forefathers. But the transports of delight he would otherwise have felt were damped by the fate of his unfortunate parent. His conscience reproached him with not having acted with greater promptitude before the fall of Isfahan; and the remembrance of all that had passed, subdued the victor, while it raised the man. The King was forgotten in the son—he wept! †

* Running footmen.

† An incident here occurred to raise the emotions of his bosom still higher. He entered the haram—it was void. Its once tapestried walls were naked. The voice of the merry was hushed, and the beauties, who in former years had glided along its corridors, were vanished. An old woman alone was left; his sisters and aunts were the captives of the marauder, and nought remained to cheer

No honours were too great for Tahmasp Koolly Khan. The Shah gave him the government of Khorasan, intended to give him his aunt in marriage, and invested him with the power of raising money for the payment of the troops. The Shah, however, forgot not the urgent duties of his station. He received all those who presented themselves to him, with such kindness and affability, that they were enchanted with their monarch; he heard their complaints, and to the utmost of his power relieved their distresses. Impoverished as they were by the robberies of their invaders, the Persians in return contributed liberally to the maintenance of the forces, which now presented a formidable array.

BATTLE OF ISTAKIR, OR PERSEPOLIS.

After remaining at the capital for some time, Tahmasp Koolly Khan again took the field against the Afghans. In the meanwhile, Ashruf took the opportunity of ravaging Fars with all the barbarity that revenge, and an insatiable desire of wealth, could instigate. Despite the rigorous season of the year, the

his desolate heart—for so it must have been when memory recalled the scenes of earlier years. Tahmasp was embraced to the old woman's breast—it was his mother. She had, since the invasion of the Afghans, disguised herself as a servant, and submitted to the most menial employments. Now, her son was on his throne—his standard floated on the battlements of the Dowlet Kane,* and she herself recognized as Queen-mother.

* The abode of power—the palace.

Persian general encamped near Istakir; * and though he had lost by desertion a great part of his troops, from the dearth of provisions, consequent on the severity of the weather, and the depredations of the enemy, he determined on hazarding the results of a battle. The foe had entrenched himself in an advantageous position, and made vigorous preparations to turn the tide of war. On the 15th of January 1729, the Persians charged their adversaries with the same impetuosity as at the battle of Moorshakoor, and with equal success. The Afghans so suddenly gave ground, that the Khan was apprehensive of an ambuscade, and therefore acted with great caution in the pursuit. The circumspection he used, however, proved advantageous to the opposite army; for they retired on Shiraz, and intended to fortify a pass in the mountains. On his arrival near the city, Ashruf offered to surrender the princesses and treasures of the palace, on condition of being permitted to retire unmolested; but Tahmasp Koolly Khan demanded that the monarch should be given up to him, threatening otherwise to cut all the Afghans to pieces. The fugitive chief, perceiving a cruel death to be his fate, if he fell into the hands of the victors, fled during the night, and had got to some distance before the Persians were informed of his retreat. The enemy, in order to faci-

* The ancient city of Persepolis was situated at this town; and the ruins, which still bear testimony to its pristine grandeur, have gained from their magnificence the appellation of "Al Takht," or "the Throne."

litate their escape, divided into several parties, and were attacked by the inhabitants of the country. Thus harassed, their baggage only retarded their movements, and they suffered excessively from the want of forage and provisions.

DEATH OF ASHRUF, AND ESCAPE OF HIS CAPTIVES.

The detachments of the Persians came up with the remnants of the Afghan army, and a skirmish ensued, in which the pursuers were beaten off. Ashruf was forced to abandon his baggage and his prisoners, and the latter returned to Shiraz. Among them was the aunt of Shah Tahmasp, who was subsequently married to the victorious general. In consequence of the dangers they encountered, the Afghans were dispersed in all directions; and their leader had not advanced far into the deserts of Seestan, before he was attacked by the Bulochees. He had with him but two hundred men; nevertheless, he made a desperate resistance: but he at length fell, with the whole of his followers. Thus ended the rule of the Afghans in Persia: an usurpation which, though of short duration, had laid waste some of the most beautiful portions of Asia, and nearly depopulated several of the largest cities in that quarter of the globe.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE HISTORY OF SHAH TAHMASP.

The remainder of the real history of this monarch may be told in a few words, though under his nominal reign many important events took place; for Tahmasp

Koolly Khan grasped all the power, and left the shadow alone to his sovereign. Nor was even this preserved to him very long; for that general having in 1732 seized his person, forced him to abdicate in favour of his son, Abas Mirza, then an infant of six months old, assumed the regency, and imprisoned the dethroned monarch at Subzawar. Abas III. dying in 1736, Tahmasp Koolly Khan was declared King under the title of Nadir Shah; and whilst on his expedition to India, his son, Riza Koolly, revolting from him, murdered Tahmasp and all his family, in 1739.

CONCLUSION.

We have thus taken a cursory, yet circumstantial, review of the rise, progress, and fall of one of those revolutions so common in Asia, which may not be improperly styled the whirlwinds of the political world. Before we lay down our pen, however, let us consider the characters of the five principal personages in this tragedy,—the two Persian monarchs, Hoossein and Tahmasp, and the three Afghan chieftains, Meer Veis, Mahmood, and Ashruf. Hoossein was of a mild, even temper, but unfit for the arduous duties he had to perform. In no country, under even the most favourable circumstances, would he have made what is termed "a *good* King;" as a private individual, he might have lived and died respected. His excessive leniency would have acted as an incentive to crime in any nation, and his weakness

and indecision led to fatal consequences. He was otherwise a man of good, if not great, talents; and as an architect, possessed few rivals in his age or country: but these qualifications, however much they might have become a private gentleman, were the ruin of the Shah. Had he not been so absorbed in the pleasures of private life, and devoted more attention to the management of his empire, his subjects would never have revolted, and become eventually his sovereigns. The monarchy of the Sufvees was essentially a military one. The Shahseven, and the various other militia, held lands on a species of feudal tenure; but when, during the latter reigns, the ancient discipline was not rigorously enforced, these were "*ipso facto*" broken up. Abas, Ismael, and the other monarchs preceding Shah Sooliman, were great and daring generals, who feared little from either the Turks on the one hand, or the Moguls on the other; but when Hoossein assumed the reins of government, the weakness and inactivity of his father had laid the foundation of the miseries of Persia, and on it the son erected an edifice of woe. Tahmasp, on the other hand, if he had been placed in circumstances where he could have developed more of his natural temperament, might have shone as a beloved and upright monarch, more especially if he had been surrounded by wise and faithful advisers. His abilities, though not extraordinary, were still respectable; yet insufficient for the great events against which he had to

contend. Thrown in early life * upon the arena of civil distractions, unchecked by the paternal advice of a wise sovereign, and debarred, by the system pursued in Persia for the education of the princes of the blood, from receiving instruction in that art of government, by which many potentates, who ascended the throne with fewer years than himself, have swayed the sceptres of Europe with credit to themselves, and beneficial glory to their subjects; he was rendered incompetent to cope with the restless and daring spirits of his age, and consequently, when left to act for himself, was led away by the dishonest advice of depraved and grasping councillors.

The three rebel captains, in order to ascertain their respective merits, should be compared together. Meer Veis, as the founder, Mahmood as the establisher, and Ashruf as the completer of the Afghan power. The former was a man of great genius, endowed with a high degree of penetration, and decision in conduct; these qualities were supported by a ready eloquence, great liberality, and undaunted bravery. Thus qualified for an hazardous undertaking, he made use of them to the greatest advantage in rousing his countrymen, fortifying their courage, and irritating them against their oppressors. Mahmood, again, was brave, resolute, and indefatigable; once foiled he rose above his discouragements, and renewed his exertions to gain the object he had in view. This

* About twenty-five years of age.

well became a leader, who had to support the infant power of a comparatively small state; and his genius was upheld by the habits of his nation. His youth, when opposed to that of Tahmasp, who was his senior, was productive of success in his case, since it urged him on to action; and he had gained experience under a father's eye, whilst in the other prince the fire of rising manhood was quenched by early impressions. Ashruf's behaviour, when he began to reign, conveyed every idea that he was competent to finish the bold projects of his predecessors, and establish their infant empire on a firm and lasting basis. Such at least were the opinions entertained in Europe. He appeared to be formed for gaining the affections of his people, and to be a great statesman. His subsequent line of conduct, however, developed the cruelty and perfidy of his heart, and led to the ultimate expulsion of his countrymen from Persia. The advantages of his government died even before him; Mahmood's survived that chief but a short time; while Meir Veis's liberation of his country first gave rise to the power of Afghanistan, which afterwards enlarged its boundaries by the acquisition of Kabul, Mooltan, Scinde, and other provinces. The Sikhs, under the Lion of the Punjab, have however seized some of its finest territories, during the unhappy broils between Shah Zeman, Soojah-ool-Moolk, and Dost Mahomed Khan. The armies of England have now stepped in to arbitrate between the competitors. Victory has perched upon her standards, and may she have it in her power

to confer unnumbered blessings on those lands as the fruits of her interposition. May she thus gain the affections of Central Asia, and by endearing herself to the nations of the east, fix her power in their hearts; and despite the machinations of envious foes, carry her red-cross standard of Glory wherever her true interests may lead it, with renown to herself and advantage to her native subjects.

A few words with regard to the cavils of her enemies. Whether Russia, or any other power, may, or may not, be tampering with her dependancies, it is imperatively her duty to watch, and be prepared to meet the exigency—not when the storm is ready to burst upon her frontiers; but before, let her be in readiness to carry the war into the territories of her declared foes. Let her take in time the advice of those qualified to form accurate opinions on the subject of eastern politics; of men who have grown grey in the service of their country, in orient climes.

In a word—Watch and be ready: who knows how near the danger may be? Let us not boast of our strength, but remember that Samson fell by the wiles of a woman, and that even the mighty Empire of Rome at length crumbled to pieces by the errors of her statesmen.

APPENDIX *(A)*.

Supplementary Note to the Turkish Author's Preface.

THE work mentioned in the Preface to be the first book which issued from the Sultan's press, was an Arabic Lexicon, the Sehâh of Al Joûheri, or the Goldsmith, a native of Farab in Toorkistan; and which was translated into Turkish, by Mahomed ben Moostufa, a native of Van, whence he received the name of Van Koolly (in the Latin of Clodius styled Ankuli). The Goldsmith had such a profound knowledge of Arabic, that he received the name of Iman-ool-Loghat, or the Prince of Words; but lost his life, like a second Dedalus, by trying to fly with a pair of waxen wings.—*Davids. Jones.*

Supplementary Notes to the "Tareekh-i-Seeah."

THE following notes have been collected in an Appendix, in order to present the reader with the more prominent of the various discrepancies in the accounts of the historians cotemporary, or immediately succeeding the Afghan invasion.

N.B. The references before the notes, indicate the pages of the text; and those after, the respective ones of my authorities. The edition of Hanway here alluded to, is that of 1762, in two volumes, 4to.

I. Page 33. Levan Khan was appointed Governor of Georgia, during the absence of his brother, Gurghin Khan, (Georgis of the

Text, and Georgi of Du Cerceau,) in Candahar. These princes were of the family of Bagrathioni. Hence the name of Bagrathion, given to the latter by some writers.—*Hanway*, 101; *Clairac*, vol. 1, p. 21.*

II. Page 53. In 1709, the Khan of Herat was sent against the rebels, and defeated. In 1711, the Governor of Tauris, Mahommed Khan, was likewise defeated, and killed by the Afghans.—*Hanway*, 117. *Clairac*, vol. 1., p. 84.

III. Page 57. Mahomed Roostoom Khan was despatched against the Afghans in 1713.—*Hanway*, 119; *Clairac*, vol. 1. p. 96.

IV. Page 64. The Island Bahrein, was the one to which Lootf Ally Khan proposed to transport his troops in 1710, the Arabians of Muscat having seized it in 1710.—*Hanway*, 127; *Clairac*, vol. 1. p. 129.

V. Page 96. Mahmood, on his march from Kirman to Isfahan, attacked Yesd, but was repulsed.—*Clairac*, vol. 1. p. 219.

VI. The Khan of Ahwas persuaded the Shah to remain at Isfahan, instead of retiring to Casween, as his other ministers advised him.—*Hanway*, 138; *Clairac*, vol. 1, p. 261.

VII. Page 113.† In March 1723, Tahmasp deposed Vachtan Khan, and nominated Mahomed Koolly Khan, prince of Kaket, Wully of Georgia; but the new Viceroy, not having a sufficient force to contend against Vachtanga, was forced to retire to his principality. On his arrival there, he entered into a treaty with the Lezgees, and reappeared before Teflis on the 8th of May. The deposed chief fled during the night, and Mahomed Koolly Khan was received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants.—*Hanway*, 195; *Clairac*, vol. 2, page 93.

*He gives this on the authority of Le Sieur Joseph, "who," he adds, with a bitter feeling against a rival author, "ought to know more of the Georgian princes than Krusinski."

† The note inserted at this page, was given on the authority of Du Cerceau.

(B.)—Advertisement.

This table was annexed to the Latin translation by Clodius, who received it as a curiosity from M. Seebisch, Principal Librarian to the Dresden Collection. The MS. was originally in the possession of Andreas Acoluthus, whose son Benjamin sold it to M. Seebisch. The name of its compiler does not appear, except on the last leaf, as Hajy Khalifa Moostupha, of whom Galland, in his preface to Herbelot, makes honourable mention.

It contained a hundred leaves, or two hundred pages, written in a very minute and fine character, yet elegant and legible; but appeared to be a copy from another MS. from the various corrections of the doubtful readings.

TABLE OF THE TURKISH SULTANS.

Reigned. Yrs.	Mo.	Died A.H.	Ascended A.H.	Born A.H.	Sultan's Name.
27		726	699	657	Sultan Othman ben Ertugrul.
35		761	726	680	Sultan Urchan ben Othman Chan.
31		791	761	726	Sultan Morad ben Urchan, surnamed Ghazi Chudavendkiar.
14		805	791	761	Sultan Jilderim ben Sultan Morad Chan.
8		824	816	781	Sultan Mohammed Chan ben Jilderim Chan.
20		844	824	806	Sultan Morad Chan ben Mohammed Chan, Alfatihh.
5^{3} 2^{4}		849	844^{2}	833^{1}	Sultan Mohammed Chan ben Morad Chan.
6		855	849^{5}	806	Sultan Morad Chan ben Mohammed Chan.
31		866^{7}	855^{6}	833	Sultan Mohammed ben Morad Chan, Alfatihh.
32		918	866	851	Sultan Bajazid Chan ben Mohammed Chan.
9		926	918	872^{8}	Sultan Selim Chan ben Bajazid Chan.
48		974^{9}	926	900	Sultan Soleiman Chan ben Selim Chan.
8	5	982	974	926	Sultan Selim Chan ben Soleiman Chan.
20	8	1003^{10}	982	953	Sultan Morad Chan 3rd ben Selim Chan.
9	2	1012^{11}	1003	974	Sultan Mohammed Chan 3rd ben Morad Chan.
14		1026^{13}	1012	998^{12}	Sultan Ahmed Chan ben Mohammed Chan.
3 mo.	4 d.	(14)	1026		Sultan Mostapha Chan ben Mohammed Chan.
4	1	1031^{15}	1026	1013	Sultan Othman Chan ben Ahmed Chan.
1	4	1032^{16}	1031	1000	Sultan Mostapha Chan ben Mohammed Chan.
17		1049^{18}	1032	1021^{17}	Sultan Morad Chan ben Ahmed Chan.
9		1058	1049	1024	Sultan Ibrahim Chan ben Ahmed Chan.
			1058^{19}	1051	Sultan Mohammed Chan ben Ibrahim Chan.

Note.—The headings were written in green, and the lines were red, edged with gold. The titles of the Sultans were written in letters of gold. The names of the Grand Viziers are annexed from the year 728 to 1066, when the father of Kouproli was made a Padshah; these are succeeded by tables of the Muftis and Padshahs of Rumelia, Anatolia, and Constantinople.

1 At Adrianople.
2 The first time.
3 According to Chogia Effendi.
4 .... Giannab.
5 At Adrianople.
6 Restored.
7 At Mal Depe.
8 At Amasia.
9 At Sektuwar.
10 In the month Giomadilula.
11 In the month Regeb.
12 In Magnesia.
13 In the month Dulka'dah.
14 Abdicated the same year.
15 Commencement of Regeb.
16 In the month Dulka'dah.
17 .... Giomadilula.
18 .... Schawal.
19 .... Regeb.

* The names are here given as in the original of Clodius.

ERRATA.

Page 2, — 17 *for* "Called," *read* "by."
5, — 10, and elsewhere, *for* "Ali," *read* Ally."
6, — 2, ———— — "Kooli," *read* Koolly."
19, — 25, — "a data" — "a datum."
23, — 26, — "Ispahan,"—"Isfahan."
60, — 7, — "Proved war," — "Proved the war with Persia."
64, — 21, — *after* "excursions," *insert* "of the Islanders."
100, — 12, — and elsewhere, *for* "Miangi, *read* "Mianjee."
132, — 7, — "coins," — "coin."
136, — 13, — "are," — "art."

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